How stronger is cheaper in Israel, by Gregg Easterbrook

Plus reviews by • Jonathan Alter • James Fallows • David Ignatius • Joseph Nocera • Thomas J. Peters • Emily Yoffe

The Washington Monthly

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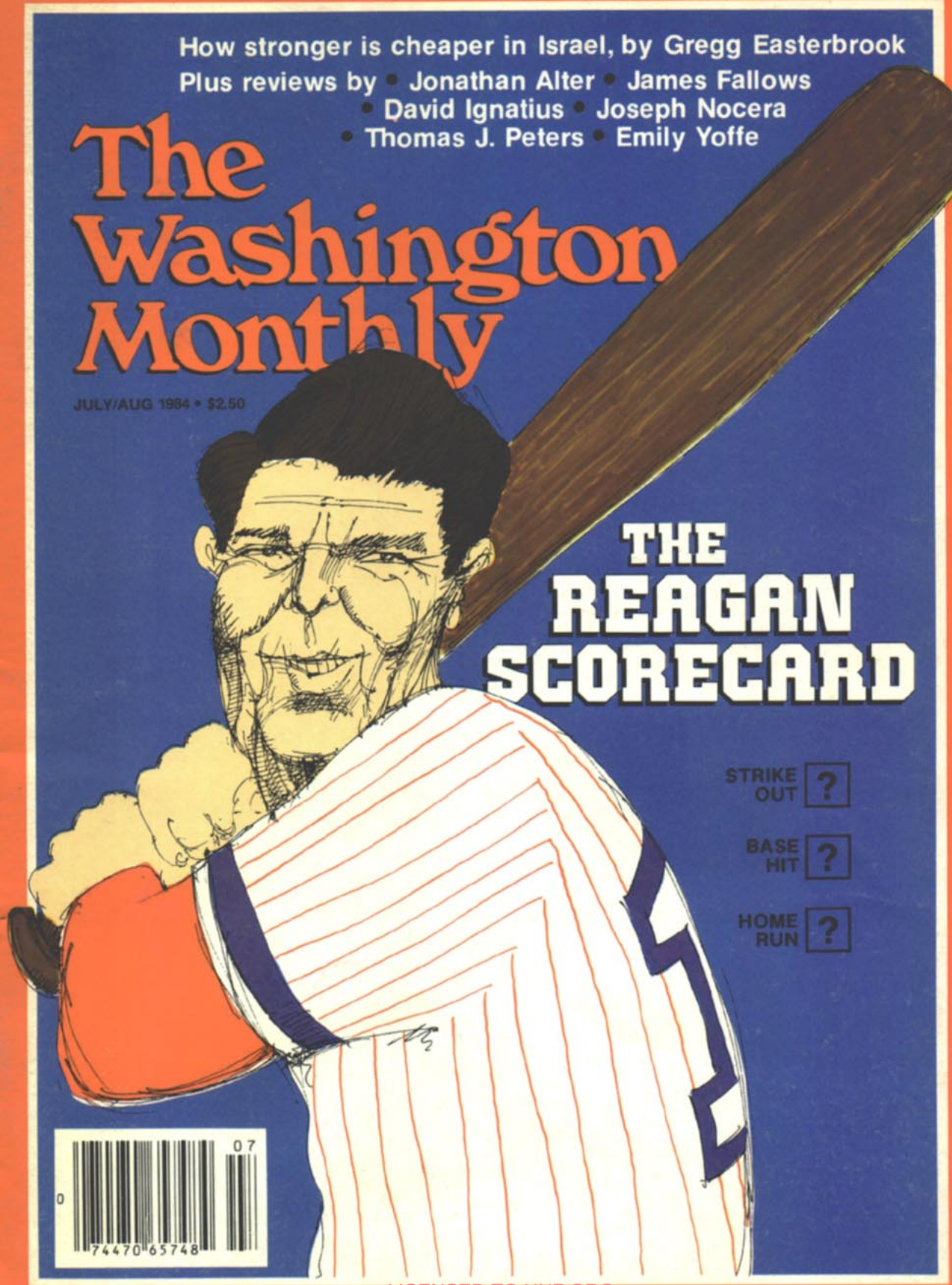

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LETTERS

Mind Your Own Beezwax

In your May issue you said, "During the 1950s there was McCarthyism; countless reputations and lives were ruined" ["The Case Against Privacy," Phillip Keisling].

Name one—just one—person whom Senator Joe McCarthy said was a communist who was not—in fact—a communist. I can name several who *were* communists if you really want to know.

Put up or shut up. I'm waiting!

WILLIAM FRANCIS FREEHOFF
Kingsport, Tennessee

The editors reply:

McCarthy seldom called people communists. He would imply that they were and leave the rest of the job to the press, which in the fifties was much more conservative than it is today. In the case of David Lloyd, a member of Truman's White House staff, two of the headlines were "Says White House Man With Reds" (*Boston Post*) and "Charges Red is White House Speech Writer" (*St. Louis Globe Democrat*). Other victims of this tactic included Dorothy Kenyon, Reed Harris, and Frederick Kenyon.

I agree with a good deal of what Phillip Keisling says in "The Case Against Privacy." Unfortunately, he sets up a straw man in criticizing the "view in which privacy is considered an inviolate right, much like freedom of speech or religion, and worthy of the same, absolute standard of protection." Freedom of speech and religion are not *absolute*, and I doubt that even the ACLU (which seems to be Keisling's particular bete noire) would argue that such freedoms—or the right to privacy—should be absolute. Moreover, that the word "privacy" is not mentioned in the Constitution does not mean, as Keisling suggests, that the Supreme Court has been wrong to regard privacy as a constitutional concern. The First Amendment never mentions freedom of association; would Keisling contend that the Supreme Court therefore has been wrong to view freedom of association as a First Amendment issue? I would hope not.

Incidentally, Keisling mentions the case of *United States* v. *Arthur Young & Co.* but fails to report that the Supreme Court decided it on March 21, holding unanimously that a corporation's tax accrual workpapers are not protected by a so-called "accountant's privilege," since, among other things, an independent public accountant is "a disinterested analyst charged with public obligations."

One last factual matter: Keisling refers to congressional testimony by John Shattuck "of the ACLU." Shattuck recently left the ACLU to take a position at Harvard.

LOUIS F. COOPER
Bethesda, Maryland

In your great May article, "The Case Against Privacy," you state that one area in which government should not interfere is the area of books, magazines, and films which adults read and watch. That sounds reasonable except for the fact that we are hearing that pornography is playing a part in some of the violence being committed against women and children.

If pornography is sabotaging American behavior to that degree, has it not become the type of crime against our nation that our government should deal with?

ERIC JORDAN
Stockton, California

Phillip Keisling's article, "The Case Against Privacy," is marked by sloppy thinking and sloppy research. Keisling's reference to me illustrates the latter.

Keisling writes:

"Aryeh Neier, former president of the American Civil Liberties Union, has long advocated the expungement of all conviction records, arguing that once a fine has been paid or a prison term served, retention of the information is merely punitive. Put another way, if the twice-convicted embezzler wants a job in the Treasury Department's Bureau of Printing and Engraving, the government would know his criminal history only if he chose to tell it."

Actually, the position I have long advocated is the one set forth in this passage from my 1976 book, *Crime and Punishment: A Radical Solution*:

"I would allow discrimination based on past convictions for serious crime directly relevant to a particular occupation. An applicant for a job as a school janitor could be turned down on the basis of a past conviction for child molestation or arson, but not for robbery. A would-be bank clerk could be rejected on the basis of a conviction for embezzlement and robbery, but not for child molestation."

I advocate this position on public policy grounds as well as privacy grounds. It is bad public policy to make ex-convicts unable to get any kind of employment.

Also, I was not president of the ACLU; I was executive director.

ARYEH NEIER
New York, New York

The author replies:

Mr. Neier states his position more boldly in his 1975 book, *Dossier*, urging that "all dossiers described in this book"—including conviction records—be "assembled in one place and a fire set to the lot of them." He adds, "I do not apologize for taking such an 'extreme' position. Some things warrant extreme positions."

I was unaware of Mr. Neier's 1976 book; if he now embraces this somewhat less extreme view, I stand corrected. But my reading of the book is that even this seeming recantation is conditional. After describing

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a British proposal that seals conviction records but allows employment discrimination for specific occupations, Mr. Neier introduces the passage quoted above by saying "if exceptions are allowed" that this is a "better way."

Sorry about the title.

Don't Knock Neocons

Tamar Jacoby's review of Daniel Patrick Moynihan's *Loyalties* ["On Political Books," May] would have been interesting had there been more of Moynihan and less of Jacoby. From Jacoby's tone, it seems that she feels that she is in possession of The Truth, and so has no need to argue the merits of the case—neoconservatives, being the closeminded dreary types that they are, wouldn't understand anyway. The smugness throughout the piece is typified by its last sentence: "What is wise and intriguing about this book is the way reality is creeping into his thinking." When is Jacoby running for senator?

GIDEON ROSE
New York, New York

The question about the Soviet Union isn't whether it's better or worse than liberal democracy, as Tamar Jacoby seems to argue in her review of Daniel P. Moynihan's *Loyalties*. There are plenty of bad governments that don't threaten us. The question is whether the Soviet Union and its clients do—and whether we can lessen any threat they may pose by sticking to Senator Moynihan's legal niceties while the other side treats them with contempt. That strikes me as letting the totalitarians know they can literally get away with murder.

JEFFREY M. LANDAW
Baltimore, Maryland

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A Discordant Note

I have been in the habit of letting your short reviews in the "Political Booknotes" section clear the way for my reading list, and generally I think myself well informed by your contributors. Michael Hiestand's comments on John Anderson's book [April] constitute a glaring exception.

I'd had the opportunity to read the book before checking the reviews on it, and I found Hiestand completely beside the point and downright ill-mannered in suggesting that the whole of the book was nothing but a collection of political bromides. He was flippant throughout, totally uninformative, and either unwilling or unable to address the substance of the book—the capacity of the two parties to put together a workable economic agenda for the country. In this matter, at the very least, Anderson was quite provocative.

DALE A. GROTE
Madison, Wisconsin

Got Something Against Bifocals?

Years ago *Stewardess Magazine* changed its name to *Flight Attendant*. This term is the non-sexist term, while "Stewardess" ("Tilting at Windmills," April) is really passe.

Flight attendants overwhelmingly *hate* the term "Stewardess." Mostly, it's used by bifocaled business men.

STANLEY HARRISON
Lynn, Massachusetts

The Third Palestine

"Tilting at Windmills" [May] refers to Hart and Mondale as "cowards" and Jackson as "right" on the "need" for a Palestinian homeland. In its entire history, Palestine *never* had a separate political, economic, or other identity, being a backward Syrian province. When did it suddenly acquire nationhood? The Celts, Scots, Welsh, Flemings, Walloons, Basques, Copts, etc. have long-standing *legitimate* claims to self-determination. The Palestinians do not. If you think otherwise, why is it that their own brethren (who held Gaza, Judea, Samaria, Golan Heights) did not grant them this alleged "right"?

Furthermore, there are in existence two Palestinian states (one is Israel). Jordan's population is about three-quarters Palestinian. Its leader, King Hussein, is the interloper, as he represents the Hashemite Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

You have been gulled by Arab propaganda to such an extent that you "weep" about Jackson. I could sell you the Brooklyn Bridge!

BERNARD BRODSKY
Brooklyn, New York

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Incomparable Worth

I agree that money will not necessarily secure quality teachers. And it is interesting to compare salaries in various areas with respect to what is being produced. However, I question whether one can validly compare salaries in South Dakota directly with salaries in Washington, D.C. ("Tilting at Windmills," March). I would feel more comfortable if the salaries in each area were first adjusted for the cost of living in that area. I suspect that if the adjustment were made, the differences in national ranking might be much less extreme and the conclusions you draw different.

RICHARD FAST
Oberammergau, Germany

Go Ahead and Smoke

Congratulations on "Getting Away With Murder" [Ken Cummins, April]. The article was long overdue. It's been hard for me not to get cynical about "responsible" national magazines and newspapers when on one page they report righteously about stopping drugs that "sap America's strength" and then on the next page carry an ad for a drug that will probably kill more people in this year than heroin or cocaine will in 20. The sidebar on the cigarette manufacturer's efforts to addict the Third World was particularly sickening. But being a nurse I can always say what I say to my friends who smoke: at least you're keeping me in business.

CHARLES MONITOR
Arcata, California

Golly

Your April issue was one of the best. "Getting Away With Murder" was both well-documented and incisively argued. *The Times* deserves the Uriah Heep Award for false piety, and Dr. Gitlitz should do the presenting.

As editor of a magazine that goes to multinational consultants, I read many articles on political risk, albeit from a business point of view. I can't think of one that has addressed the tribal issue as does Gordon Rayfield's convincing analysis, "The Tribal Trap." Of course, one might say that the major world powers are simply the Hatfields and McCoys writ large, but that's quibbling. The article was a thorough and fascinating departure from the usual and the *Chicago Tribune* cartoon an inspired bit.

Finally, Susan Ohanian's piece on teacher certification recalled some disgusted reactions when, as a restless mother many years ago, I took some of those courses to supplement my liberal arts degree. One instructor welcomed a class of certification students by saying something like, "Well, you've paid your

THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY

Journalism Award

for April 1984 is presented to

Dolly Katz
Detroit Free Press

In a seven-part series on the licensing of doctors in Michigan, Katz details several harrowing cases of incompetent doctors who were permitted to continue practicing while evidence mounted that they were directly responsible for the death or disability of patients. Among those whose licenses get revoked—rarely at the instigation of the medical societies—many simply move to another state, while others reapply for their licenses after a year. (Since 1977, only two Michigan doctors have had their licenses permanently revoked.)

Thomas L. Friedman
The New York Times

In a thoughtful post-mortem on America's failure to keep the peace in Lebanon, Friedman concludes that the middle-and lower-level Marine officers and Army trainers who dealt with the Lebanese population "on the street" had a much better sense that the fragile peace was on the verge of collapse than the diplomats and "special envoys" who made the policy. While the military men observed the mood of their Lebanese hosts as it changed from hospitality to hostility, the policymakers remained confined "for safety reasons" to the Ambassador's residence in Christian East Beirut and the presidential palace next door.

The Monthly Journalism Award is presented each month to the best newspaper or magazine article (or series of articles) on our political system. Nominations from any newspaper or magazine in the country are welcome. The subject can be government in its federal, state, or municipal manifestation.

The award for articles published in June will be announced in the October issue. Nominations will close July 15. Nominations should be accompanied by two copies of the article or articles.

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money—what do you want to do each Tuesday evening?" My favorite, though, was the retired high school principal who professed to be teaching a course with the word psychology somewhere in the title. He droned through a textbook each week, always pronouncing Freud, "Frewde."

VIRGINIA FAIRWEATHER
Westport, Connecticut

This Bisected Isle

Towards the end of his absorbing essay on tribalism, Gordon Rayfield rather let himself down by asking, "And why has not the United States considered partition as a solution to the tensions in Cyprus?"

In 1963, only three years after Cyprus became independent of the British, Dean Acheson was asked by Lyndon Johnson to devise a strategic plan for the island. His recommendation was that Cyprus be split into two, one-half going to Greece and the other to Turkey, with a NATO base in each sector. The Cypriots, who were not consulted about this process, rejected the plan on its publication.

The following year, according to George Ball in his memoirs, the United States "established an underground contact" with the extreme right wing guerrillas headed by General George Grivas. The purpose of the contact, openly admitted by Ball, was the removal of the elected government of Archbishop Makarios and the imposition of partition.

In 1967, the United States supported a fascist military coup in Greece which had as one of its objectives the annexation of Cyprus by force, to be followed by a partition agreement with Turkey.

In 1974, Secretary of State Kissinger had direct foreknowledge of a Greek junta attack on Cyprus, and ignored the appeals of his subordinates, who urged him to forestall it. Later in the year, when the junta had fallen as a result of its aggression, Dr. Kissinger supported the landing of the Turkish army on Cyprus, which turned one third of the Greek Cypriot population into refugees.

Today, the United States arms and pays the military dictatorship in Turkey, which has proclaimed the one-third of Cyprus which it occupies to be an "independent" state. President Reagan's pronouncements have put the puppet leaders of this "state" on the same footing as the internationally recognized Republic of Cyprus.

By my count, this represents a full two decades of commitment to partition on the part of the United States. What more must be done before Mr. Rayfield is satisfied? The current enforced partition is the *source* of "the tensions in Cyprus," and not the "solution" to them. The curious will soon be able to consult my book on the subject, to be published by Quartet Books later in the year.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS
Washington, D.C.

Christopher Hitchens is Washington correspondent for The Nation.

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TILTING AT WINDMILLS

Fred Reed is a conservative columnist for the conservative *Washington Times*. His column is called "Soldiering" and is usually sympathetic to the military. But occasionally, as with a biting description of an inept U.S. Army outfit in Europe, he writes something critical. This means that even he gets "the treatment" from the Pentagon's publications officers.

The treatment involves keeping reporters away from enlisted men. Why should the public affairs officers want to do that? Reed explains:

"Enlisted men know what is going on and are politically unreliable—i.e., they answer questions. 'Corporal, does the XM-327 Whoopeedoop work?' 'Beats me. We've never been able to get it started.' "

"The truth," Reed continues, "is at E-5 and below." This is a profound observation, of which most journalists seem sadly unaware.

When I was working at the Peace Corps during the sixties and my job was to find out what the organization was doing right and wrong, I repeatedly found that the volunteers were my best source. The staff was more likely to gild lilies, with the gilding becoming increasingly artful as one went up the ladder to the top of the organization, reaching its peak in the public affairs office and the director's office. Yet it was to those two sources that most reporters went in those days, and still do, in covering most government agencies.

That means the reporters are talking to people who have maximum interest in covering up what's wrong. If, on the other hand, they sought out people like enlisted men and Peace Corps volunteers, they would find sources who mostly thought of themselves as spending two years or so with the organization, did not have career interests to protect, and thus had no reason to try to cover their asses.

Reed reminds me of a tactic the public affairs people will use when they're trying to give the appearance of candor—the "We'll show you anything you want to see—just name it" treatment. What they do is accompany the reporter on his interviews, just as a matter of courtesy, of course. The result is that as the enlisted man begins to answer the reporter's question, he looks into the steely eyes of a major from the public affairs section—with predictable results....

One of my recurring fantasies is that some night I'll sneak into the advertising agency that makes those Brim coffee commercials and reshoot the one that has the father proudly saying, "I never thought my baby daughter would grow up to be a lawyer." He would speak the same words, but he would be sobbing....

Smith Barney, the brokerage firm, publishes a booklet called "Tax Shelters—The Basics." "They are," it advises, "based on law and are not meant to be measured against standards of fairness or morality. The judgment of a tax shelter must be based on its economic viability as an investment, not on its acceptance as socially desirable."...

Smith Barney notwithstanding, I have come to the conclusion that greed is not the dominant motive in human beings. I've been thinking about the tragedy of Lebanon. When I visited it in the sixties, it was the Switzerland of the Middle East. Amidst the surrounding turmoil, it was an island of peace and prosperity. The Lebanese were growing richer by the day. And then they gave it all up for the joys of religious and political warfare....

Last year the National Organization for Women (NOW) began screening a television commercial that showed a cigarette and a handgun, with a voice overlay saying that they have two of the most powerful lobbies in

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Washington and that women needed the same kind of representation. My friend Shela Turpin-Forster thinks this is a terrible idea and I agree. If organizations like NOW imitate the National Rifle Associations of this world and threaten to oppose all candidates who do not give them unquestioning support, there is no hope of getting a Congress with backbone. To have the courage to vote his convictions, a congressman has to believe that his constituents will vote for him on his overall record, not on the basis of his stand on a single issue....

Turpin-Forster is not surprised that NOW is supporting Mondale—sending out mailings with NOW logos on the envelope and letterhead but with a reply envelope for the check addressed to the Mondale for President Committee. After all, she says, Mondale is the candidate of the liberal special interest groups.

Again, I agree with her. Nevertheless, I will of course support him if he's nominated, because he's better than Reagan. But I don't think he'll win unless he declares his independence from these groups....

The depositions from the LBJ-Westmoreland case are providing some fascinating footnotes to history. One by George Carver, a highly respected CIA offical in the sixties, was reported in *The New York Times*: "Officials of the Central Intelligence Agency concluded in 1966 and 1967 that United States bombing in North Vietnam was not only ineffective but also left the North Vietnamese with more transport and other assets than they had before the bombs began to fall."

This reminded me of an incident in my own life that illustrates the complex undercurrents of Washington. It happened in 1966. My wife and I had been invited to dinner by the Hayes Redmons. The other guests were the bureau chief of a national news magazine and his wife. As often happened in those days, an argument about Vietnam quickly came to dominate the evening. I was against the bombing, the bureau chief was for it. The argument was heated, and I turned to Hayes for support. I hoped that, because he had been in the Air Force, he would know about the studies made after World War II that showed how ineffective our bombing had been in reducing the war effort of a Germany that was far more urbanized and industrialized and thus far more susceptible to bombing damage than Vietnam. But Hayes remained silent.

Of course, he had to. He was working for the White House as Bill Moyers's deputy, and since Johnson was an enthusiastic advocate of the bombing, his subordinates had to support it loyally in public. I later found out, however, that, behind the scenes, both Moyers and Redmon were fighting the bombing, using Carver's reports as ammunition.....

Another fascinating deposition comes from Robert McNamara. The former secretary of defense finally furnishes the proof that in crucial respects he was a fool. Listen to this one: "No responsible military official would ever withhold information from a superior that conceivably could bear on the superior's rightful decision-making power." When McNamara was shown affidavits from intelligence and military officers saying they had lied and suppressed information about enemy troop strength, he said it was "inconceivable." "That," he said, "is not the nature of a Government."...

My guess is that CBS is in danger of losing the suit, and that's a shame because the broadcast was mostly right. But it tilted too far in the direction of suggesting deliberate conspiracy and did not sufficiently recognize the powerful role bureaucracy and stupidity played. Also, CBS, as a news organization, had a responsibility to reveal, not conceal, its own officials' doubts about the show, most especially the fact that Howard Stringer, its executive producer, had said, "I should never have hired him to do it in the first place. I should

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have known I couldn't get fair journalism off him." Since "him" is George Crile, the show's principal reporter, this statement comes close to being the case's smoking gun, and the fact that CBS had concealed such doubts about the show is perilously similar to what it would call a coverup by anyone else. One wonders what Dan Rather and the rest of our heroes at CBS News think about this. Is it, "I just work here"?...

And now for the latest from the conference circuit. Our stars for this month are the distinguished federal judges of the ninth circuit. Section 333 of Title 28 of the U.S. Code provides that the chief circuit judge shall hold annual conferences of the judges of the circuit in active service. In the beginning these meetings were held in courthouses around the circuit. But gradually the jurists began to more fully perceive the potential delights inherent in the fact that the government footed the bill for their travel and expenses for the conferences. So in 1977 the conference was held in Hawaii, in 1978 at the Camelback Inn in Arizona, in 1979 at Sun Valley, in 1980 at Monterey, in 1981 at Jackson Hole, in 1982 at the Del Coronado Hotel in San Diego, and in 1983 back to Hawaii. And you know what sticklers for the law those judges are! They take along all the retired judges, even though you will recall that the statute clearly says "active judges."...

In May, Edward Hanley, the president of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers International Union, testified before the Senate permanent subcommittee on investigations. He was asked to respond to allegations that he had padded union payrolls, become president through the influence of organized crime, and made loans of more than $6 million of union money to his friends and others associated with organized crime—loans that had not been repaid to the union. Did Hanley make a ringing denial of the allegations? Not quite. He answered one question, giving his home address in Antioch, Illinois, and then proceeded to invoke the Fifth Amendment on every other question, 35 times in all.

The day after this hearing, the House of Representatives issued a financial disclosure report. It stated that Tip O'Neill and Dan Rostenkowski, one of the most powerful committee chairmen in the House, had each received a $2,000 honorarium from Hanley's union....

That same House report revealed that the poorest man in the House is David Bonior. He has no assets, liabilities, or income for 1983 beyond his salary of $69,358. He is also, by the way, an able and thoughtful congressman....

Those movie stars who devote so much of their time to charity—what wonderful, big-hearted people they must be! They seem in constant attendance at events for one good cause or another. Well, it's true they do a lot of charity work, but, according to *The Wall Street Journal*'s Bill Johnson, a lot of them are paid for their trouble. Not only are their expenses —including limousines, fancy hotels, and first-class air fares—taken care of, but fees of as much as $50,000 are paid. To handle all this business, a new profession has sprung up in Hollywood. Its members are called celebrity brokers. For a fee they make the connection between the charity and the star.

A few of these celebrities may be down on their luck and actually need the money. But what are we to think when Bob Hope's publicity agent says, "Let's face it. No matter how great a humanitarian Bob must be, he can't do them all for free." Why not? Hope is, in fact, one of the richest men in Hollywood....

The Washington subway was built with several billion dollars of government money. It connects such places as Capitol Hill, the State Department, and the Pentagon with trains that are fast, frequent, and comfortable. Yet various departments of the government continue to spend millions on shuttle buses for their employees that run between these same places. The Pentagon alone operates 17 different shuttle routes, including vans or buses every 20 minutes or so to Capitol Hill and the State Department. One of State's shuttle routes is the looniest of them all. It runs every 15 minutes between State's main building in Foggy Bottom and its satellite offices in Rosslyn, Virginia. The subway travels the same route and takes only three minutes,

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plus a three-block walk at each end. "Metro sounds pretty good on a day it doesn't rain," State's Brian Carlson told *The New York Times*. Perhaps Mr. Carlson has not heard of a device called the umbrella....

For those of you who thought high tech would balance our loss of exports in traditional industries like autos and steel, the American Electronics Association reports that "the already shrinking U.S. export balance of trade for electronics and information technology products virtually disappeared in 1983." The export balance (over imports) was $4.8 billion in 1981, $3.5 billion in '82, and only $.1 billion last year....

Veteran readers may recall our June 1980 cover with a smiling Brezhnev holding an American Express card and saying, "Don't Leave Home Without It" in Cyrillic. The cover article was "Moscow's Real Secret Weapon," which was the enormous amount of credit Western banks had extended to Russia and other Eastern bloc countries. West European banks recently extended another $250 million loan to Russia, which already owed the West $28.7 billion. This puts the Soviet Union right behind Brazil and Mexico in the rank of world-debtors with similar power to collapse Western banks. And remember, this is just Russia we're talking about. If what the rest of the Eastern Bloc owes the West is added, the total debt would rank ahead of Brazil's or Mexico's....

Have you noticed those extra charges that are cropping up on your bank statements? They're eating away the income you thought you were getting from those higher interest rates. And the charges are often inflated well above what the service they reflect actually costs the bank to peform. For example, over the past ten years, the cost of processing a bad check has gone *down*—from 78 cents to 36 cents—because of automation. Yet the average bank has doubled the amount it charges for such checks from $5 to $10, with some banks now charging their customers as much as $20....

In a last-ditch effort to get publicity for the dark-horse alternatives to Mondale, I tried to persuade one of our most powerful press lords to do a series on Bumpers, Biden, and Cuomo. As I talked, I realized that this person, even though not enthusiastic about Mondale, was not going to do what I was suggesting, indeed could not even contemplate striding into the newsroom and announcing a major series on anything. Today's press lords don't think that way. There is not a Henry Luce among them.

There is certainly a good side to this fact—we are spared the incredible distortions that *Time* and *Life* used to be guilty of in the service of Luce's various causes. On the other hand, there is no one saying the people need to know about Bumpers as Luce said they needed to know about Willkie. And can anyone doubt that Willkie was a better Republican candidate in 1940 than Dewey or Taft would have been?

There is less conscious bias in the mainline press today because of this lack of Luces. But there is much more unconscious bias—and much more similarity of point of view—in *Time*, *Newsweek*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and other leading papers. This reflects the fact that their owners see themselves as stewards, not as messiahs. Their greatest fear is fucking up. So they select staffs that are not likely to embarrass them. They select the same kinds of people with the same values, people who, like the owners, have little desire to grab the world by the lapels and say here are the important truths you must understand if we are to save this country and the world. Without that kind of desire we are spared the stories of Chiang Kai Shek's mighty armies poised to retake mainland China if only Washington will unleash them. But we also miss the important truths. And that's not so good....

Several years ago there was a movement to do something about the fact that a lot of doctors and dentists did not keep up with the latest developments in their fields. "Continuing education" requirements were enacted by state legislatures. Tax deductions were allowed so as to encourage the process. The result, however, as our readers know, has been something other than the reformers intended. The latest example comes from California, where Henry Kissinger spoke to the Santa Clara County Dental Society. The dentists paid $65 to hear him discuss such subjects as

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Central America and the need for a bipartisan foreign policy. According to the *San Jose Mercury News*, "The state Board of Dental Examiners is planning to count the speech as two units of course credit in its continuing education program," and the IRS said that a tax deduction "almost certainly would be allowed if the dental board accepts the course credits."...

When Roslyn Olitsky began teaching in the public schools of New York City 30 years ago, teachers, she recently told *The New York Times,* were required to take rigorous examinations, including a six-hour written test with essays, an oral interview before a board of examiners, and teaching an assigned subject to a strange class with only 40 minutes' preparation. Such rigor is long gone from the process of teacher selection in urban schools. The result is that a lot of bad teachers have replaced the Roslyn Olitskys. Most of today's teachers, according to the *Times*, are drawn from the bottom quarter of their freshman class. The solution to this problem is higher pay, *not* for the bad teachers, but only for the good teachers, and for new teachers hired by standards as rigorous as those that tested Roslyn Olitsky....

"The Office of Management and Budget," reports *Army Times*, "has found that the Pentagon bent or ignored rules in order to spend $6.8 billion in the last weeks of September 1983." As most readers of this magazine know, the September Spending Spree occurs not just at the Pentagon but at most other federal agencies as well. Beginning with our third issue, in 1969, we have been trying to educate members of Congress, journalists, and political scientists about this phenomenon in the hope that they would begin to expose the practice and bring it to a halt.

Our efforts have not been rewarded with much success. But the practice is so wasteful that I feel we should try once more. This is the time to strike, because while the actual spending sins usually take place in September, the pressure behind them almost always begin to build in July, when agencies discover that they haven't come close to spending the money Congress gave them for this fiscal year. The truth is that the agency got more money than it needs. And there is no truth federal agencies are more desperate to conceal from Congress. For if Congress understood what had happened, it would be likely to reduce next year's appropriations, especially when that sum represents an increase, on the ground that the agency couldn't even use what it received last year.

So the orders go out to spend and spend. In the process, absurd waste occurs. Patently inept or crooked contractors are implored to accept orders. Warehouses begin to bulge with enough paper clips and wastebaskets to last a thousand years. Yet the people who should do something about this outrage—those congressmen, journalists, and political scientists I was talking about—usually sleep through the period. I challenge them this year, while there's still time, to wake up and do something for a change....

There are a number of reasons why congressmen tend to remain in Washington after they have been defeated at the polls. One is simply that they have bought a house here that has become their home. This happens because often congressmen

George V. Higgins
OF THE BOSTON GLOBE

says The Washington Monthly
"...pencils in the coming months' agenda for the editors of Harper's and The Atlantic, Time as well as Newsweek."

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cannot afford to own houses both in their districts and in Washington, and, since they have to be in Washington most of the time, they choose to have their main residence here and to maintain only an apartment or an occasional hotel room in their district. This choice has the effect of further discouraging the kind of contact with constituents that is vital if a congressman is to represent them well.

Kim Davis, a friend of our editors, has a solution for this problem: Let the government provide rent-free housing for each congressman in Washington, but only so long as he is a member. He would then be more likely to run for Congress in the first place, if he was one of those David Boniors, who have no outside income and can't see how they can afford to maintain two residences.

If elected, he would be more likely to visit his home district because he would still have a home there. And, if he is defeated, he would be less likely to stay in Washington, where it's likely all he would do is swell the ranks of Washington lobbyists, whose number is already far too legion....

If you can stand one more Vietnam item that makes you weep, consider this from William Sullivan's recently published memoir, *Obligato*. It seems that in 1963 there was a secret war game sponsored by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in which the players were not second-teamers but men like John McCone and Maxwell Taylor. Sullivan was on the North Vietnam team under Taylor. The game showed that by 1972 the North would dominate most of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and would succeed in tying down 500,000 American troops in an unwinnable quagmire. The prediction was uncannily accurate. So what did the participants in this prophetic venture proceed to do? They went right to work presiding over the increasing American involvement in the quagmire and helped make their game become reality. Believe it or not!...

You may recall our recent items expressing concern about the large numbers of accidents caused by giant tractor-trailer trucks and the large number of medals given by the Army for service in Grenada. Here is an update on both.

As to the medals, Jeffrey Record points out that while we handed out 8,633 medals to the 7,000 Army officers and men who participated in Grenada, the British distributed only 679 medals to the 28,000 soldiers, sailors, and airmen who participated in the Falklands invasion where the going was, to put it mildly, considerably tougher, with 255 lives lost compared to our 18 in Grenada.

As for those trucks, a recent article in the American Automobile Association's magazine points out why you have good reason to be terrified when one of those monsters looms in your rear-view mirror. "It takes," says the AAA, "an 80,000-pound truck traveling 55 miles per hour between 225 and 275 feet to stop on dry pavement." How many trucks have you observed traveling closer, much closer, to you?...

The part of *The Washington Monthly*'s gospel that is most resisted by the respectable world is our advocacy of political patronage. Recently in a review for *The Boston Globe* of James MacGregor Burns's *The Power to Lead*, I had occasion to try once more. Here is what I said:

If we want good people to go into politics in large numbers, we must give them a chance not only to select a candidate but to serve under him in the government, helping him put into practice the programs for which they campaigned.

Today fewer than 1 percent of the jobs in the federal government are available to the people who campaign for a presidential candidate. A similar situation exists in state and local governments. The civil service has erected a wall of separation between politics and policy. Citizens are urged to participate in politics as lobotomized drones who dutifully hand out leaflets and push doorbells, but who aren't supposed to have anything to do with carrying out the policies for which they have worked. When the campaign is over, they are expected to gratefully accept their certificate of appreciation from the League of Women Voters and leave almost all the work of government to the technocrats of the civil service. Does Burns really think such a prospect is going to stir the souls of our ablest men and women?

—*Charles Peters*

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The future of air battle may lie in planes that operate without pilots. But the U.S. Army can't build them as quickly or as cheaply as th

The Army's $800,0

When Israel attacked anti-aircraft missile batteries in the Bekka Valley during its 1982 war with Syria, the first weapons on the scene were not multi-million-dollar jets or rocket-launched smart bombs but tiny propeller-driven craft that looked—and behaved—very much like toy model airplanes. Simple to build and cheap (by military standards), at about $50,000 each, the Israeli drones served first as decoys, tricking the Syrians into firing their missiles at empty sky. Then, with the Syrians' radar at full power, Israeli ground forces launched radar-seeking missiles towards the batteries. Meanwhile other little drones with television cameras were circling, unnoticed, around Syrian positions. As Syrian forces moved to defend the missile installations, Israeli commanders were able to see exactly what was coming. By the end of five days' fighting, 54 Syrian aircraft and 19 missile batteries had been destroyed; only one Israeli plane was lost.

A year later, aircraft from the carriers *John F. Kennedy* and *Independence* attacked the same installations. Two American planes went down. No combat drones were employed because the U.S. military doesn't have any.

Not that it isn't working on them. The U.S. Army has been trying to build a model airplane for nearly a decade; its drone project, called Aquila, began in 1974 and at present is scheduled to produce an operational unit by, perhaps, late 1987. And so far the Army has managed to hold the cost of its model plane to a mere $830,000.

Above: the Israeli Scout.
Below: the U.S. Army's Aquila

Gregg Easterbrook is a staff writer for The Atlantic *and a contributing editor of* The Washington Monthly.

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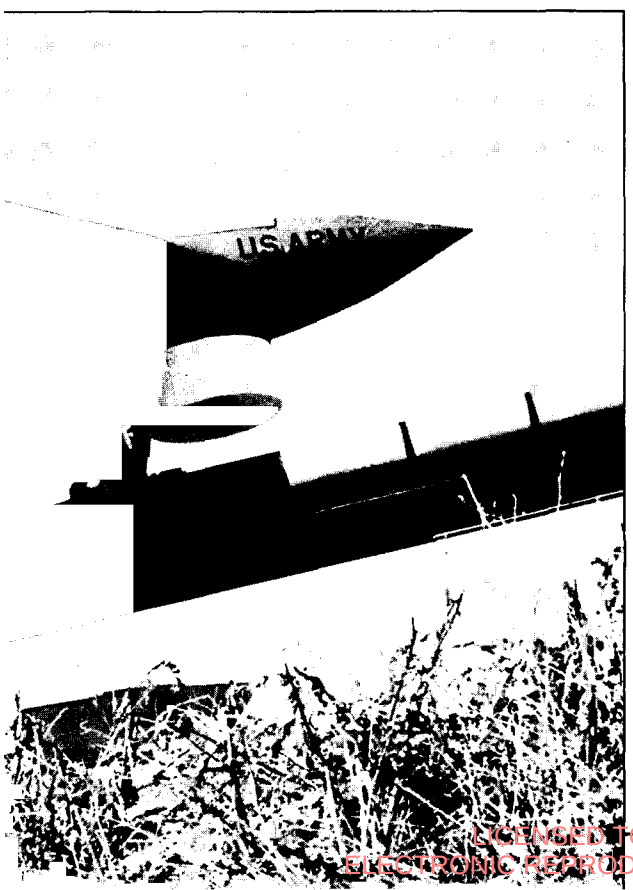
)0 Model Airplane

By Gregg Easterbrook

The Israeli drone project began just a year earlier. But operational drones were in the hands of Israeli Defense Force commanders by 1978. Initial development of the drones cost an Israeli company about half a million dollars; so far the Army has spent $590 million trying to develop drones. Total development costs for an improved drone Israel uses today are estimated at $30 million; the Army now says that by the time it fields Aquila it will have spent at least $1.1 *billion* on development alone. (There is more money in next year's budget for research on Aquila than for the Air Force's Advanced Tactical Fighter project.) Overall, Aquila's costs have risen some 433 percent in the past five years and now stand at $2.44 billion. But never fear, the General Accounting Office notes that the real cost will be "substantially" higher.



Why can't the Pentagon build a model plane? And why is there such a drastic difference in price between U.S. and Israeli versions of a simple, straightforward idea? One designer of Remotely Piloted Vehicles (RPVs) closely connected with Aquila put it this way: "The Israeli military is interested in defending their country. The U.S. military is interested in defending their budgets." What happened to Aquila is a case study not only in how to increase defense spending without improving readiness but also in how outside designs and innovative ideas that don't fit smoothly with territorial imperatives will be ignored—until it's too late.

Aquila Sunrise

Israel's RPV program began with an American engineer named Al Ellis, who today lives on a sailboat in a California harbor but who was, when the 1973 Middle East war broke out, living in Tel Aviv. Ellis convinced an Israeli electronics firm, Tadiran, to let him build a model airplane that would carry the Sony Minicam, just developed for television news crews. There was little enthusiasm for Ellis's idea among Israeli army officers, but since a prototype could be assembled for minimal cost, Tadiran went along. Within five months Ellis's RPV was flying, sending back pictures of ground that was miles away or behind hills. Tadiran called its product the Mastiff; soon Israeli Aircraft Industries, to which

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Ellis initially had proposed the idea, was building a competitor, the Scout. The Israeli military ordered some of each and had them in the field by 1978. Both drones looked like something your cousin Burt would enter in the high-school science fair—cobbled together from model aircraft parts and store-bought electronics, riveted and welded by hand, with bicycle training wheels for landing. But they worked.

Ellis says there is a simple explanation for how his drones were built so quickly and cheaply. "The key to my success was that the company I was working for had absolutely no knowledge of mini-RPVs. They were an electronics firm. So they gave me complete control and said take it, run it any way you want." Thus Ellis was able to work without specifications, guidelines, or regulations. "When I wanted to hold a test flight, I held one," Ellis said. "I didn't have to notify 30 generals, and I didn't have to file flight plans." Most important, Ellis had no army officers hovering over him, making mischief. "Occasionally some colonel would walk in and say, 'Gee wouldn't it be nice if this could. . . .' I'd say, 'Out! Get out!' and I had the authority to throw him out. In military-run projects everybody's trying to get his own two cents in, and pretty soon your weapon has been designed by a committee." Contractors, Ellis added, usually let themselves off the hook by rationalizing, "If the customer is dumb, that's his problem. Give him whatever he wants."

Shlomo Nir, a Tadiran executive, notes that military procurement projects in Israel differ from those in the U.S. in an important respect: they are privately run. "Here the government doesn't have enough funds to invest in development," Nir said, "so they prefer to let private companies work on their own. Then they decide what to buy. In the case of the Mastiff we got it finished so quickly there was no time for the military to add frills."

In other words, Israel doesn't have enough money to build weapons wrong.

In its early stages, the Aquila program was following the same principles. The initial work was done in 1974 and 1975 by a small company called Developmental Sciences Inc. DSI was thrown together hurriedly in the early 1970s by Gerald Seemann, then an engineer for McDonnell Douglas, and Gordon Harris, a Cal Tech engineering professor. Harris was sitting on a government panel that was trying to think of a company qualified to do a drone feasibility study. No one knew of such a firm, so Harris said, "Why don't we give a contract to Developmental Sciences?" The panel approved, even though it hadn't heard of the company—not surprising since it wasn't formed until later than night.

DSI formed a joint venture with Lockheed and won the first Army contract to build Aquila experimental vehicles. It built 38 through early 1976 and also went to work on an RPV design of its own, which, the company thought, would eliminate some flaws—mainly a very high price and a needlessly small payload—that were creeping into the Aquila program. In 1979 the Army asked for bids on fullscale Aquila production, estimating a program cost of $563 million. Lockheed dropped DSI as a partner as well as several small-business subcontractors, hoping to get all the work itself. DSI asked for a "fly-off" between its drone and Aquila—a full-scale competition between two working prototypes built by two competing companies. The Army refused; the Pentagon dislikes fly-offs because, with annoying regularity, the wrong guy wins. Lockheed took over on a sole-source basis and DSI was out.

Soon costs were rising, complexity was increasing, and deadlines were slipping. When Aquila might have been used over the Bekaa in 1983 it wasn't ready; instead an American pilot died.

Van Versus Caravan

Aquila had trouble just getting off the ground. Its main functions—reconnaissance and "real time" battlefield surveillance, meaning obtaining information on what the enemy is doing right now—were in competition with another Army project of the mid-seventies, SOTAS. SOTAS was to be the Army's answer to AWACS—a large, long-range radar surveillance system borne by helicopters. Although it would have been extremely expensive to build and, in combat use, very vulnerable to jamming and attack, SOTAS (and a successor system called JSTARS) enjoyed considerable support in the Army's upper echelons because of the image of technological glamor it would project. Then along came another idea for battlefield surveillance: cheap, small, silly-looking model airplanes. Take a wild guess as to which the Army went for.

Little pilotless airplanes were being resisted also by other parts of the Pentagon for other reasons. David Packard, deputy secretary of defense under the Nixon administration and a noted innovator, was pushing for rapid construction of several types of RPVs; the closest he came to success was the cruise missile, which can only follow a pre-set course and can't be "flown" like

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Aquila or Mastiff. "The military is factionalized into different groups that only want to push their programs," Packard said in an interview. "There are the carrier admirals, the submarine admirals, the battleship admirals, and so on." Most potential drone missions fell outside any existing bureaucratic categories, a stiflingly strict system known around the Pentagon as "roles and missions."

Obviously the Air Force was frightened of what it saw as a long-term threat to its pride, the piloted plane. But drones represented a short-term threat as well; they might take away Air Force roles in reconnaissance, communications relay, electronic warfare, and ground attack. Dr. William Graham, a retired RAND Corporation analyst, who organized the first U.S. military conference on RPV use in 1972, says that Air Force opposition was intense. "If you are a halfback and somebody proposes the one-back offense, you get very nervous," Graham noted. "You start trying to make up rules about how there always have to be two backs." The Navy saw drones as a threat to its helicopters; a high priority was to put helicopters for reconnaissance and antisubmarine warfare on nearly every fighting ship, right down to destroyers and frigates.

Even in the Army, the service that stood to benefit most from drones, there was considerable opposition. Besides worrying the SOTAS/JSTARS faction, RPVs worried the attack helicopter supporters: the $9 million AH64 Apache helicopter this group longed for was designed mainly as a "platform" for launching antitank missiles. If drones could carry such missiles at a fraction of the cost, the Apache would be in trouble. So would light observation helicopters, of which Army Aviation wanted a new "generation." If the drones could be used also as weapons, a wide array of extremely expensive aircraft- and missile-launched smart bombs being developed under a program called Assault Breaker would be imperiled. So a two-pronged strategy was developed: delay the drones as long as possible and also make certain that, if they cannot be stopped, at least they will no longer be cheap.

Aquila has been doing well on both counts. Besides being slow to take form—only this past April did it make its first flight with a stabilized TV camera that can swivel, a feature Israeli drones had five years ago—it has grown complex and therefore increasingly expensive. Ellis's drone was accompanied by a Ford van that contained a control station; Aquila travels with a caravan that includes a catapult launcher truck, a recovery truck with a net, a control truck, and an antenna station. The recovery truck alone costs $500,000 but enables Aquila to meet what has become a standard U.S. military specification—the ability to operate anywhere in the world under any conditions. The net truck means Aquila can land even if there is no open space in the area; Israeli drones avoid this expense by using a very simple arrester hook when space is short. "How often are you going to be in a situation where there literally is no patch of flat ground anywhere to be found?" asked an engineer close to Aquila. "No runway, no road, no field. Once in a lifetime will you have that situation, and when you do, just let the drone crash. If it cost only $50,000 to begin with, who cares if it crashes? Of course if it cost a million dollars. . . ."

Why can't the Pentagon build a pilotless plane as well as the Israelis can? "The Israeli military is interested in defending their country," explains one designer working on the Army's Aquila project. "The U.S. military is interested in defending their budgets."

Less Is More Expensive

While the Israeli drone may look like a science fair project, Aquila looks like something Darth Vader would launch from the Death Star; it has been worked over from the original designs to give it the kind of zoomy, menacing silhouette generals and George Lucas like.

"Early in the project, when the prototypes were very cheap, we had a few crashes," said a source

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involved with Aquila. "Army inspectors came in and said, 'You're using model airplane parts! You can't do that. You have to use mil spec [military specification] parts.' So we started switching from parts that cost a few bucks each to parts that cost thousands of dollars each, and not only did the price soar, but the prototypes became so expensive we were afraid to fly them." In fact when the Army this year decided to request full production authority for Aquila, it did so after just 17 test flights, one of which ended in a crash; this for a system that is supposed to be able to operate hundreds of times reliably under the most adverse conditions. At this writing, a total of 42 tests have taken place (all under the control of Lockheed engineers, not the regular Army troops who would use Aquila) and seven have been classed as failures.

The View from Behind Zio's

Off the spongy asphalt parking lot of a suburban shopping mall in Gaithersburg, Maryland, squeezed in next to a lamp store, an interior decorator, and Zio's Greek Restaurant, is the headquarters of Optelecom, a small electronics engineering company. Optelecom exists on the fringe of Pentagon tolerance; its engineers are mavericks, free-spirited, and opinionated. One has Sierra Club posters on his office wall next to aircraft indentification charts. Another is Dr. Gordon Gould, one of the men credited with inventing the laser beam. Optelecom's current interest is in changing the Army's plans for remotely piloted vehicles. Like much of the innovative end of the drone business, its offices, and its projects, have a Saturday-morning-tinkering-in-the-garage flavor. They also might work.

Optelecom's president is William Culver, a former RAND Corporation and IBM engineer who, in 1972, the year drones became a subject of discussion inside the Pentagon, decided to strike out on his own. Since then Culver has been trying to sell the military, and defense contractors, on two ideas: fiber-optic communications instead of radios, and cheap kamikaze drones instead of multi-million-dollar smart bombs.

A significant portion of the delays and cost escalation in the Army's Aquila program can be traced to its radio system, called MICNS. Radio communication may seem, to anyone who has experienced the smallness and phonic quality of a $59 Sony Walkman, the simplest part of any military task. But on the battlefield, it is not. During combat hundreds if not thousands of radios on both sides will be broadcasting on overlapping frequencies, creating electronic chaos; in addition, jammer systems will be operating on both sides. For a tiny remotely piloted plane, which must stay in constant contact with its base in order to be "flown" and to send back information, communication is a high priority.

The Army's answer, MICNs, is an ultra-tech response to the task—a rotating, high-gain antenna and a high-powered radio set aboard the drone. The radio alone, according to the GAO, will cost $60 million to develop and will add greatly to the cost of each Aquila, since the flying part of the system must carry it. And so far, MICNS doesn't work; its capabilities are so limited that, a GAO report says, the Army "may simply lower the anti-jam specifications and accept the lesser performance."

Culver advocates instead fiber optics of the type now being used to replace wires in telephone cables. Using light as their medium, fiber-optic strands can carry thousands of times more information per size and weight than wires can. Also, they require very little power. Optelecom envisions drones with spools of fiber strands that "pay out" as they fly, like kites on strings. Such drones would be much cheaper, since all the communication hardware would be in the ground station, not on the vehicle, and jam-proof, since there would be no use of airwaves. The strands weigh next to nothing; Culver believes the drones could fly 15 miles or more under realistic conditions without their electronic tails becoming a problem.

His company has done some fiber-optics research on contract to the Army, but as yet, little has come of the work. Optelecom bid for one contract to test fiber spools for reliability but lost to Hughes Aircraft. The controversial issue of this contract was what technique would be used to pull the fiber off the spools at speeds simulating the flight of a missile. Optelecom hand-fabricated an original device that combines an industrial electric motor and two flywheels; it fits on a desk and costs virtually nothing per test run. Hughes proposed using rocket sleds at the White Sands, New Mexico proving grounds to pull the spools, at a cost of $25,000 per test. Hughes won.

"Ours wasn't expensive enough or big enough to look like a military facility, so the Army wouldn't touch it," Culver said. At Optelecom's office the spool-tester sits in a cramped back hall; when it runs, company engineers open a delivery door and let the fibers spill into the alley behind Zio's. "Can you imagine bringing a general or congressman in to have his picture taken next to this?" Culver asked.

Culver's other obsession, the kamikaze drone, is getting equally lukewarm attention. Partly because

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Besides the tyranny of mil specs, there are other inflexible Pentagon requirements plaguing the project. The Army decided that Aquila had to be extremely small and imposed a weight limit of 240 pounds; so far the vehicle is 20 pounds overweight—a problem when the overall weight is low. Shrinking components to meet the weight limit has of course made them more costly. "The insistence on micro-miniaturization is the biggest single reason Aquila is so much more expensive than everything else," says Gerald Seemann, president of DSI. The Army, for instance, has just set aside $80 million to develop an infrared night-sight package tiny enough to fit in Aquila.

The weight specification was written despite the fact that there is no indication RPVs need to be so small. Israel's drones are larger and DSI's drone, Sky Eye, weighs nearly twice as much as it would be cheap: "I've talked to several missile manufacturers about this and they all ask me, 'Why can't you make it cost more?' One vice president of a big missile company came here to visit and said, 'We can't afford to make a cheap missile.' " Partly because it fits no Pentagon organizational slot: "If you're going to disturb the present roles and missions of the United States Army," Culver noted, "they simply do not want to hear about it."

Optelecom proposes an antitank kamikaze RPV with a television camera, a warhead, and a fiber-optic link to a "pilot" miles away. This vehicle would cruise over battlefields at a relatively slow speed, 200-300 knots, slow enough that its operator could spot tanks on the ground; yet fast enough, considering its small size, that it would be difficult to shoot down. Once the target was picked, the drone would dive in and explode. Followers of military procurement follies will recognize that this scheme bears a haunting resemblance to the TV Maverick missile, which failed even in the most carefully rigged tests. But Culver insists there is a difference. TV Mavericks are carried into battle by attack aircraft, whose pilots must scan the battlefield, aim the weapon, and launch it, all the while dodging opposing fire; then the missile's computer takes over, trying to guide it in by analyzing television images of what the pilot last saw.

An antitank kamikaze controller, on the other hand, would have no distractions over his personal safety, since he would be seated miles away from the scene: no matter how skilled and courageous a pilot may be, it is impossible for him not to worry about his own rear end, or about bringing his vastly expensive aircraft home, while hurtling towards people with guns. Since the drone would be guided all the way into the kill by human beings—something as simple as the difference between a tank and a jeep is obvious to every soldier, but costs millions to teach to machines—it would, Culver says, be far more effective than Maverick.

Weapons of this nature would also pose a never-ending threat to Russian forces. The Army's present main antitank weapon, the TOW missile, has only a two-mile range and must be fired by troops with a clear view of their target. This means that soldiers may fire a few missiles, but then they must run, because by firing they have revealed their position to other tanks. Kamikaze drones, coming out of nowhere, could dribble in all day long, like artillery shells, destroying what they hit and driving those they miss mad with fear.

Some official research into this idea has been conducted by the Army's Missile Command at Redstone Arsenal in Alabama. The Missile Command envisions a kamikaze weapon that would be rocket-launched, but otherwise would behave like an RPV—it would have wings, fly slowly, and be able to circle around a battlefield looking for targets. According to Dr. William McCorkle, the Missile Command's director, so far there has been Pentagon resistance to the idea. "We took this proposal to some high Army officials," McCorkle said, "and they immediately fell into arguing about which branch would get it." An effective antitank drone would jeopardize several treasured Army and Air Force systems: among them the Air Force's $125,000 jet-launched "imaging" Maverick missile; the Army artillery division's laser-guided Copperhead homing shell and its plans for an extremely expensive new homing shell called SADARM; the Army aviation division's expensive new AH64 Apache and its $39,000 Hellfire laser missile.

"Army Aviation in particular is not enthusiastic," McCorkle said, "because if you can do all this with cheap drones, why should you have attack helicopters?" McCorkle estimates the kamikaze—presently known by the unlikely name, FOGM, for fiber-optic guided missile—will cost between $10,00 and $20,000 each. "A lot depends on whether we can get the Army to let us leave some of the fancy stuff off," he added.

Aquila, by the way, will carry a Hellfire/Copperhead "designator" package, which is supposed to allow it to guide those weapons by circling around a target while focusing a laser beam on it—a maneuver far more complex than a kamikaze dive. But one that plays the role and fits the mission.

—G.E.

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Aquila. All the drones are still small enough to be very difficult to see with the naked eye, and, because they are made of a composite plastic that is a poor radar reflector and their metal parts are surrounded by microwave-absorbent foam, they are nearly invisible to radar. But once set, a military specification acquires a life of its own. "When I was designing my drone I didn't even have a weight goal, let alone a limit," Ellis said. "I thought, whatever it weighs, it weighs. What difference does it make as long as it works?" DSI's drone, which the company is selling on the international market, is now available with the type of night-sight instrument the Army won't have for another five years and $80 million. The Army uses a Texas Instruments unit that does the same thing but weighs a few pounds more than the Aquila's spec limit.

Along the way, Aquila's operating procedure has changed. The drone originally was to be used as Israeli drones are used, accompanying troops into the field and being launched near the area of battle. Recently, however, Army brass decided to transfer it to behind-the-lines operation. The drone will be launched from a "centralized" site under rear-area controllers and then "handed off" to forward control. This means that not only will each flight require at least two "pilots"—and two sets of control stations, the most expensive part of the system—but a complex realignment of the Aquila's high-gain antenna must be made twice during its flight (once going out, once coming back). Such antenna "acquisitions" have proved tricky even for space probes supervised by dozens of scientists; under combat conditions, with confusion rampant and radio-jamming a threat, they could be Aquila's undoing, a GAO report recently warned. The Army has yet to conduct a test flight of this complicated feature; it has run only tests in which ground technicians try to acquire an airplane which is "simulating" Aquila. In other words, an essential part of the project, without which Aquila will be useless, has never been tested *at all*. (Nor have any of the 42 flights included an actual test of the laser target designator which constitutes roughly one half of Aquila's reason for being. The laser designator has been tested "on a laboratory basis only," a knowledgeable Army officer involved with the project says.)

But the new operating procedure is a boon to the Army's hierarchy. It transfers command of Aquila from battalion-level officers at the front to desk-bound division-level officers—generals—reposing in the rear. As part of the change the Army announced that the total number of Aquila RPVs to be purchased would be cut almost in half, from 995 to 548, while the number of ground stations—the part of the operation that doesn't do anything—would be increased.

Samurai Drones

While Aquila flounders, other ways of using RPVs are drawing little attention around the Pentagon because they menace the theocracy of roles and missions. Aquila was placed under the authority of the Army's artillery school at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, which means its payloads are designed primarily for artillery-related functions (surveillance, target designation) and its range has been limited to 50 kilometers, 30 kilometers being the maximum range of artillery. Far more flexible designs would be possible—the Israeli drones and the DSI Sky Eye are each designed for a wide variety of operations, operations that would be in the national interest but not in the interest of Aquila's sponsors. "Fort Sill has its own budget, its own fight song, and everything," said William Culver, president of Optelecom, an engineering firm that has done RPV work for the Army. "They are not going to start a project that goes outside their roles and missions, because it might be taken away from them," Culver said, adding, "You must remember that from their perspective this makes perfect sense."

The most promising idea that has received only grudging Pentagon attention is a kamikaze drone that would fly directly into targets and explode. The Army and Air Force have spent billions of dollars trying to develop self-guided smart weapons that can hit targets—especially tanks—precisely. But few of these projects have met expectations, and all have been costly. The main problems with smart weapons are "contrast" and "cognition."

Contrast is the difference between what is being attacked and what surrounds it. Even very sophisticated machines, lacking human intuitive powers, can understand contrast only if the difference between the target and the background is great. Thus heat-seeking air-to-air missiles like the Sidewinder have proved very effective; the contrast between a single 900-degree jet engine exhaust nozzle and an otherwise empty, "cold" sky is easily sensed and grasped by machines. Likewise, radar-guided antiship missiles like the Exocet and the U.S.-built Harpoon are extremely effective because the contrast between a large, slow-moving metallic hulk and an otherwise empty, flat sea is unmistakable. On the other

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HOW TO WEAR A SEAT BELT

YOU CAN BE BOTH SECURE AND COMFORTABLE IN YOUR CAR.

It's been proved over and over that seat belts at least double your chances of escaping death or serious injury in a severe accident.

But the freedom of movement allowed by the newer front seat belts has bothered some people. How can the seat belt hold you securely if it appears to have almost no tension?

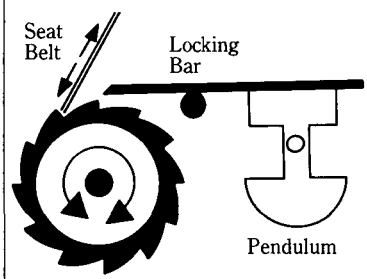
The fact is, the shoulder belt is designed to restrict your movement only in an emergency. In normal situations, you can lean forward or to the side with little pressure from the shoulder belt.

In an emergency, the belts lock up to hold you in place. The inertial reel makes this possible. That's a mechanism as simple and reliable as gravity (as you can see in the accompanying diagram). Inertial reels have been used since the 1974 model year for the shoulder belt in many GM cars. They allow you complete freedom of movement in normal driving. You can turn easily to check traffic or reach to the glove compartment.

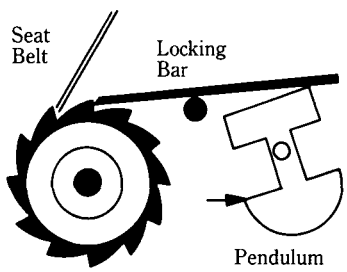
Adjusting your shoulder and lap belt. Even the slight tension you feel from the inertial reel is adjustable so there is almost no pressure. Pull the shoulder belt far enough away from you so that, when you let it go, it comes back flat against your chest. Then pull down slightly on the shoulder portion, about one inch, and let it go again.

Safety experts suggest allowing no more slack on the shoulder belt than absolutely necessary for comfort. Lap belts should be adjusted snugly as low on your hipbones as possible—not higher where they might damage internal organs in a crash.

How the inertial reel works. *Your shoulder belt is designed to allow freedom under normal conditions, but to lock automatically and restrain you in a collision.*



Under normal conditions, *the pendulum and locking bar are in their rest positions. The reel which holds the seat belt is free to rotate. As you lean against it, the belt unreels.*



In emergencies, *such as a collision from any direction, the pendulum tilts, forcing the locking bar to engage the ratchet. The reel locks and the seat belt restrains you.*

In a collision, lap/shoulder belts, worn properly, distribute the force across the large, strong bones of your hips and torso. Perhaps most important, belts help keep you from being thrown out of the vehicle in an accident.

What if you are pregnant? The American Association for Automotive Medicine says the dangers of being unbelted in a collision during pregnancy are far greater than the slight chance of injury caused by wearing the belts.

Other advantages of belts. By holding you in a proper driving position, the lap belt provides a feeling of control, keeping you in place on rough or curved roads or in an emergency maneuver. Some people even find that the added support makes driving easier on their backs.

Next time you drive, please take a moment to buckle up. Remember, the seat belt is an effective system to help protect you, and it's already part of your car. Why not think of it as your "Life Belt" and use it.

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hand, heat-seeking missiles designed to attack tanks have not been effective because the contrast between exhaust slats only a bit hotter than the warm ground around them is not great enough for smart weapons to detect, especially when, racing forward at Mach One or faster, they can examine an area for only a few seconds.

Cognition poses a similar problem. "Every six-year-old knows what a 'bridge' is," William Graham noted. "But try explaining it to a machine. You have to load into its memory a picture of every single bridge in the world." Graham said that during World War II the German army tried to disguise temporary bridges by sinking them a foot under the water. "This fooled no one," he said. "Any human being who looked at the scene knew immediately what was going on. However, it would have fooled a smart bomb."

Drones might solve these problems by adding human eyes and understanding to the scene. A

A Revolutionary Approach: Cooperation

Promising military innovations like the remotely piloted drone often are opposed by the services because they don't fit the plan for the most important battle of all—the battle against the other services. During the 1920s and 1930s, for instance, the Navy vehemently fought Billy Mitchell's bombers, and lied, not once but repeatedly, about tests it claimed proved ships could not be sunk from the air. (At one point the Navy bombed the surplus battleship, *Washington*, with what it said were explosives, and when the ship didn't sink, declared victory. Mitchell later found out the "bombs" were sandbags.)

During the 1950s the Army, Navy, and Air Force grappled with each other shamelessly over control of nuclear weapons, and at one point all three services had their own space programs. The Navy and the Air Force seldom leave much money in their budgets for transport ships or planes, since transport would serve mainly Army troops. The Army, in turn, seldom shows much interest in ground defense of harbors and air bases. Sometimes it works the other way around, and good ideas go begging because they do not fall clearly under any one service's jurisdiction. Right now the JVX tilt-rotor aircraft—a cross between a helicopter and an airplane—is stagnating because it isn't clear who should get it, the Army or the Air Force. Tiny kamikaze drones are another idea that could go to either service and, as a result, are going to no one.

Every decade or so the services announce plans to end such infighting, and in late May there came another. General Charles Gabriel, the Air Force chief of staff, and General John Wickham, the Army chief, held a news conference to announce a 31-point "memorandum of understanding" on what Gabriel called a "revolutionary approach" to combat—Air Force-Army cooperation.

The agreement—actually it wasn't exactly an agreement but "the initial step in the establishment of a long-term, dynamic process" that would begin with a bold "study of future realignment of roles and missions"—insures, General Wickham said, that if the U.S. is attacked, "we will go to war jointly." Whew! Good thing war didn't start the day before.

Close reading of the 31 points reveals, however, that the Army and Air Force resolved little or nothing; rather they took some areas of redundancy and split them roughly down the middle:

The Air Force will get future antiaircraft missiles, the Army will get future antihelicopter weapons.

The services will cooperate on development of a common friend-or-foe identification system. Another Whew!

The Air Force gets airborne radar-jamming systems, the Army gets ground-based electronic warfare. And so on.

What's more interesting about the agreement is what it doesn't say. The long-standing argument about air base defense is not resolved; the services merely promise to "jointly develop a plan to resolve" it. Nothing alters the inefficient overlap between the two services' antitank systems: the Army's Apache helicopter, Hellfire missile, and Copperhead shell; the Air Force's A10 airplane and Maverick missile. In fact the "revolutionary" document takes pains to guarantee that the present budget hierarchy will not be disturbed, spelling out both services' right to competing ground attack weapons, and goes on to impose a ridiculously stringent new interservice restriction: A10 airplanes will be allowed to attack only the fringes of a battlefield or 43.5 or more miles behind enemy lines. This is the Army's big plum in the agreement—insurance that the Apache will have a monopoly over fighting tanks at the front—but from a commander's standpoint it is another bureaucratic obstacle to devising creative tactics that will surprise and confuse the enemy, rather than acting out a predictable script on cue.

The memorandum further advances "cooperation" by all but abandoning one of the few interservice programs now in existence, the Joint Tactical Missile, an attempt to develop a big conventional missile that could be either ground- or air-

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kamikaze RPV designed to attack tanks, for instance, would have a television camera in its nose and would be carrying a warhead. A "pilot" sitting safely behind the lines would be able to perform the cognitive function of telling the difference between a tank and a big rock and steer the drone into the tank, where it would explode. (See sidebar, "The View from Behind Zio's," page 16.) Such a weapon should, in theory at least, be a great deal cheaper than smart bombs. For one, it would fly more slowly; the rocket power and stress-resistance required to build speed into precision-guided missiles is expensive. For another, it would carry no computers or inertial guidance: merely explosives, a camera, and a radio or other link to the controller. Smart bombs are so costly largely because they work by throwing a computer at the enemy.

By the same token, RPV kamikazes would be even more deadly to ships than cruise missiles like the Exocet because the ways these missiles can sometimes be fooled or "spoofed" would never fool a person. A primary ship defense system today consists of projectors that launch a cloud of confetti-sized aluminum chaff as an antiship missile approaches. Sometimes a smart missile's radar will lock onto the chaff rather than the ship, and the vessel escapes. No person viewing the scene would fall for this trick.

Kamikaze drones would have other advantages over smart weapons. They would not have to be "delivered," at great expense and risk, by aircraft; they could fly themselves to the attack point. And being cheaper, they would not have to be perfect. Instead of striving for "kill probabilities" of 100 percent, the Pentagon might instead build lots of cheaper RPVs with a 50 percent chance of success.

This feature would be particularly useful in airfield attacks. Runways have proved the hardest target for smart weapons to hit; flat and nonmetallic, there is scarcely any contrast with the grass or dirt that surrounds them, which makes automated recognition almost impossible. During the Falklands War the British staged three attacks on the airfield nearest the Argentine troop concentration, attacks carried out with their most modern, high-technology, antirunway bomb, under only light antiaircraft fire and no opposing fighters. All three attempts missed.

Yet a reliable antiairfield weapon would be an extremely effective deterrent since it would allow American forces to, in effect, shoot down large numbers of Soviet planes simply by destroying air bases. (This would be especially true in the "scenario" that most troubles NATO planners, that of an all-out surprise attack by the Warsaw Pact countries. Under those conditions—when, presumably, all Soviet planes would be in the air at once—destroying runways could effectively destroy most of the Soviet air force within an hour.) At present the Army and Air Force are working on antirunway weapons of great complexity—terminally guided warheads of special concrete-breaking bomblets, to be mounted on the MX, Trident, or similar large

launched against supply depots and similar targets. It allows the Army to concentrate on its favored approach, MLRS, and the Air Force to concentrate on its favorite, the cruise missile, all the while trying to arrive at a "joint statement of need." Right.

One of the few items on which both services found themselves in hearty agreement was that *neither* would consider an airplane called the Piper Enforcer. This is an antitank plane based on the World War II P51 Mustang, which many military analysts believe would actually make a better ground-attack weapon than jets or helicopters. (The National Guard, for one, issued a report two years ago endorsing it.) Although the Piper Enforcer has performed well in many tests (see "The Better, Cheaper Plane the Pentagon Didn't Want," George E. Hopkins, March 1977), and is now in operational demonstration at Edwards Air Force Base, both services bitterly oppose it. For one thing, the Piper Enforcer was privately developed. For another, it isn't state-of-the-art-gee-whiz technology. But worst of all, it costs less than one-fourth what Army and Air Force antitank aircraft cost.

Also part of the agreement—missed entirely by the press—is a decision to "defer" for at least five years the ambitious Assault Breaker program. Assault Breaker, an idea beloved by many defense intellectuals and endorsed by presidential candidate Walter Mondale, was on paper the greatest do-everything wonder weapon of all time, promising not only to hit enemy tanks far behind the lines but to hit them square on the tops of their turrets, their weakest points. Trouble is, not only did it not work in tests, but if it did work, an Air Force study found, during combat it would cost more than *$1 billion a day* to operate for a *single corps*. To put that number in perspective, the total U.S. defense budget is less than a billion dollars a day. Watch to see if Congress restores funds for Assault Breaker development.

Finally, the Air Force agreed to halt development of the Air Force tank—a gun-and-missile armored vehicle it was designing to defend air bases. General Gabriel says next he will conclude a cooperation pact with the Navy. Will he volunteer to give up *Cobra Judy*—the Air Force's *ship*?

—*G.E.*

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missiles. Such a weapon inevitably would defeat its own deterrent value because the Soviets would be forced to assume, whatever we might say, that its warheads were nuclear. And it might not work anyway. Even the MX's accuracy could not ensure a hit on a runway, where circular-error factors of perhaps 50 feet would be required.

On the other hand, a kamikaze drone might be able to attack a runway by landing on it. And attack a reinforced concrete aircraft hangar of the type many countries are constructing by landing and taxiing into it.

Ultimately, Graham thinks, RPVs will replace manned aircraft for most combat functions. The reason, he believes, is that antiaircraft missiles will continue to increase in quality and quantity to the point that flying simply won't be safe. "At present there's a relatively small number of missiles and most of them can be ducked by a good pilot," he explained. "But remember, we've been in the missile-building business for only 20 years. Already every air force is afraid to fly at high altitudes, so they are coming down towards the deck. Down there the cheap missiles, like the Stinger, can get them." Missiles, he points out, will always be less expensive than the aircraft they attack, so as time passes they will outnumber aircraft by a greater and greater margin. "They've already made the surface ship extinct, although the Navy won't admit it," Graham said. "Aircraft are next on the list."

It is important to point out that this is not necessarily bad. Why should the country have to build extremely expensive airplanes? And why should brave pilots have to be killed in them? With the cost of an Air Force F15 now nearly $40 million, with the cost of the pilot's training at several million dollars and the value of his life too great to measure, an all-RPV future may be not only inevitable but appealing.

Weinberger Drones On

Since the Army now plans to use its drones in a way that is different conceptually from the way Israel uses drones (after all, the Israeli drone has been a success, so we must take pains to avoid duplicating it), direct price comparisons between Aquila and other RPVs have become complicated. Tadiran says, however, that it would sell a complete field unit—six RPVs, control station, launcher, and spare parts—for about one-half the $10 million a similar Aquila system is estimated to cost. DSI, the American drone company, has taken to selling its products on the international market. (DSI recently made a sale to Thailand and is negotiating with several countries in the Middle East.) Its Sky Eye costs $400,000 per aircraft, compared to $830,000 for Aquila. DSI's Gerald Seemann apologizes for his price. "It's only because I am making the Sky Eye in such small quantities, five or ten at a time," he said. "If I could bid on 500 units, like Aquila, I'd cut the price in half again."

The Sky Eye, Tadiran's Mastiff III, and a similar drone built by Israel's IAI all can do more than Aquila. The Sky Eye will carry a 100-pound payload, compared to Aquila's 60 pounds, and carry it twice as far (or stay in the air twice as long). DSI has fired rockets from the Sky Eye; Aquila cannot carry weapon payloads. (After all, the artillery bureaucracy that is building Aquila would be cutting its own throat if it made RPVs a weapon.) The Israeli drones can carry television

A future in which remotely piloted vehicles have come to replace manned aircraft for most combat functions may be not only inevitable, but appealing. Why should the country have to build expensive airplanes? And why should brave pilots have to be killed in them?

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cameras or photographic cameras, returning the film for processing; TV drones can offer useful clues to what is going on right now behind a hill, but complete reconnaissance will probably always require photography. (Think of the difference in clarity between live television images from the space shuttle's bay and the photographs that come out a week later.) At present, however, Aquila is not designed to take photographs and come back with film. Photo reconnaissance is a jealously guarded preserve of the Air Force, which uses multi-million-dollar jets for the purpose.

The Marine Corps, which originally planned to buy Aquilas, has grown so disgusted with the cost and complexity of the project that it has dropped out and now reportedly plans to buy drones on the open market. But the Army still refuses to consider the lower-priced alternatives now available to its mega-money, takes-forever program. Both Tadiran and DSI have been told that an Army purchase is out of the question. "The trouble with these systems," the Aquila project officer told me, "is that they are basically commercial systems using off-the-shelf technology. They don't meet the Army's requirements." When the Marines moved into Lebanon last year and American jets began to fly reconnaissance patrols over the Bekaa Valley—the patrols that led to the shooting that led to the raid in which the U.S. planes were lost—Israel offered to loan the U.S. some drones so that risks need not be taken. The Pentagon turned down the offer.

Recently, at a news conference with the American Jewish Press Association, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger expansively announced that the Pentagon had seen the light and had bought some Israeli drones. The drones, he noted, would go to the Navy, not the Army, although press reports of the event skipped over that distinction.

Weinberger gave no indication how many Israeli drones had been purchased, leaving the impression a major policy shift had taken place. According to informed defense industry sources, however, only a handful of RPVs were involved. The exact number is not available because Weinberger insisted it be classifed—although every conceivable procurement detail of nearly every other American weapon, including strategic nuclear weapons, is available. (A recent article in the industry magazine, *Aviation Week*, mentioned the guidance system warm-up time for the Trident D5 submarine missile, which is on the short list of military secrets actually worth keeping.) In fact, Weinberger went so far as to insist that the price of the Israeli drones be classified.

A classified *price*? For an unarmed drone? Sounds like the defense secretary has something to hide, and he does: in this year's budget request Weinberger has asked Congress to approve, in advance, full production funding for Aquila—even though final testing of the system is not scheduled to begin until *after* the money has been awarded. Ten years of foot-dragging have given way to a sudden rush to hand out the money. When the GAO objected to Weinberger's request for full funding before testing even begins, the Pentagon, an agency report notes, countered by saying that "its Defense Systems Acquisition Review Council that would convene at the July 1985 production decision could be counted on to recommend against the Aquila going into production if it were not ready, even if Congress had appropriated production funds." Like any gardener can be counted on to advise against landscaping, especially if you offer to pay in advance.

And as for Al Ellis, the American engineer who designed the first Israeli drone? The Army has refused to consult with him. "I've offered, but they say no," Ellis says. After all, Ellis only knows about model airplanes. ■

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Reagan's Secret Plan to Bridge the Gender Gap

By Art Levine

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC

TO: The President
FROM: Michael Deaver

RE: Gender gap strategy

Women: you can't live with 'em, and you can't live without them.

That sums up the current impasse between the Republican Party and women, who now comprise 53 percent of the electorate. Opinion polls show that women tend to favor the Democratic Party over the Republican Party by a margin of between 7 and 15 percent, depending on the issue. In 1980, they cast six million more votes than men, and if they continue to distrust Republicans—and you, Mr. President— as much as they do, we're in trouble. What's going on—and what can we do about it?

Our political shop here has outlined a multi-part strategy that lets you take highly visible steps to win women voters back into the Republican camp. We're going to show you as committed to equal rights for women, compassionate, and, above all, sensitive to their needs. I already am! Ask Nancy. M.R.

BACKGROUND

Beginning in the 1960s, a small group of far-left Jewish intellectual women in New York City, led by a disgruntled housewife, Betty Friedan, began complaining about their lot. They argued that for too long women had been treated only as sex objects and "baby-makers." Instead, they wanted a broader choice of options in their life, and to be treated as equals at work and at home. Their anger over traditional sex roles focused on what they saw as "sexist" behavior by men, which included everything from our use of terms like "gal," "chick," or "broad," to aggressive sexual behavior by men. Amazingly enough, many of these ideas have filtered into the general population. You're kidding!

Who? So? What's wrong with that? Don't they like that?

On top of this change of "consciousness," women are a growing part of the workforce and resent the fact that they still earn far less

Art Levine is an associate editor of Mole, *and a contributing editor of* The Washington Monthly.

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Then how come they smile so much when they bring me my coffee?

than men, and are often stuck in low-paying, low-prestige clerical or service jobs.

On top of this, the polls show that women are more liberal than men on such issues as the nuclear arms race and domestic spending, and that hurts us badly. The reason, we believe, is that women are just naturally more caring and just plain "nicer" than men. Some scientists over at NIH tell us that it's got something to do with hormones and the side of the brain they use more, but they're still checking into it for us. They smell nice, too.

What about Maggie Thatcher?

Fortunately, we've got a lot of hidden psychological issues going for us. Women are still looking for big, strong, sexy men who will be good providers and treat them well. Even with all the feminist upheavals of the last two decades *that's never changed*. That's why we believe the Republicans ought to project a sexy, gentlemanly image that will be attractive to women.

Thank God!

We also believe you need to make high-profile rapprochements with key elements of the feminist and women's constituency. Here's how:

PICK TOM SELLECK AS VICE PRESIDENT

Tom Selleck is the handsome, mustachioed star of "Magnum, P.I." and a favorite with women of all ages. It will help us cement our image as a youthful, forward-looking party in tune with the aspirations of women if we can get Selleck on our team. Other veep possibilities who ought to be considered are Rick Springfield, a soap opera star and rock singer, and Richard Chamberlain, formerly TV's "Doctor Kildare" and star of the mini-series "The Thorn Birds." We're looking into their political backgrounds now. (We can't recommend two obvious choices—Warren Beatty and Robert Redford—because they're Hart supporters and liberals.)

Cary Grant? Is he available?

MEET WITH ANDREA DWORKIN

Aren't they lesbians? Why bother?

Dworkin is one of a breed of angry "radical feminists" whose views are influential with other feminist intellectuals and leaders. She's the author of such books as *Men: Brutes or Tyrants?* and *101 Uses for a Dead Man*. She and other feminist intellectuals criticize what they call our "patriarchal" system and see the threat of rape behind much of modern male-female relationships—for instance, seduction, in their view, equals rape. On another front, though, they're already aligned with our thinking: they're virulently opposed to all forms of pornography, which they say promotes violence against women.

What??!

Great! Invite her to the White House.

We suggest a meeting with Dworkin at a symbolic site with good photo opportunities—perhaps a pornographic book store in downtown Washington or at a consciousness-raising session on the Upper East Side of New York. The aim is to show you're sympathetic with her goals and those of her supporters.

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How about getting the League of Women Voters to sponsor an Indian Wrestle?

Special tip: compliment her on her perfume. Also, bring Nancy to chat with her about hairdo's, clothing and makeup.

Should I bring her flowers?

MAKE THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE LOOK LIKE A WIMP

Whether it's Walter Mondale or someone else, you want to create doubts in the mind of women about his manhood and level of responsibility. The question you want women to ask themselves is: Would I want this man as a husband, lover, or father? With Tom Selleck or another sex symbol on board as vice-president, you're free to play to your strengths as a father-figure. In keeping with that you might reshape federal programs in ways that resonate with the deepest subconscious longings of women for security and protection. Thus, welfare for single mothers might be dubbed "an allowance for Daddy's little darlings," and you might call the national debt "America's own personal credit card." In short, you must always reinforce the impression that you're a "good provider." Women appreciate that.

Just as long as we don't spoil them too much!

DO THE DISHES

As you know, Gerald Ford got incredible mileage out of making his own muffins. These days, women resent that men don't do their fair share of domestic chores. We think it's important that you create a strong impression of a man willing—even eager—to help out the missus in her housework. Taking out the garbage, making a bed or two (Bob Dole does it for Libby), and washing dishes after a big state dinner will all go a long way towards showing your sensitivity to women's concerns.

Why, that's their job isn't it?

Don't we have Filipino house boys to do that?

No!

CHANGE SOME DIAPERS

Working mothers, especially, are upset that they have to shoulder the primary burden of child-raising. Although this doesn't mean, of course, that the government should spend more money on day care, you *can* ease some of their concern by enthusiastically caring for kids. Now that your own children are grown, you can still help out the working moms on the White House staff (if there are any—we'll check), or even agree to babysit once a month for a suburban couple. The publicity will be invaluable.

Good!

This might be an opportunity to see my grandchildren. Get me their names.

GO SHOPPING WITH NANCY

Women appreciate a man who enjoys taking them shopping. So as Nancy window-shops or tries on new dresses, we want to show you standing by supportively. "Let's go shopping, honey" is one phrase American women never tire of.

Can we work this into my acceptance speech?

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These initiatives are just the opening wedge of our campaign to capture the women's vote. Equally important is the need for you to show a flair for making a good impression with women.

GENERAL POINTERS

This reminds me – Tell Darman I'm running low on Old Spice.

Any woman, even the most strident feminist, enjoys being complimented on her appearance. So phrases like, "Gee, your hair smells terrific" will work wonders when you're trying to get the endorsement of the leaders of the National Organization of Women or the National Women's Political Caucus.

In addition, it's important to be a good listener. Women adore men who will gladly listen to their complaints and concerns. So, whether it's Helen Caldicott protesting nuclear arms or Gloria Steinem demanding passage of the ERA, we urge you to listen to them *without getting bored*. We plan to invite the White House photographer to these "private" meetings with women leaders, so it's important you convey an image of concern.

Make sure there's coffee to keep me awake.

Conversational tip: make sure to steer the conversation around to areas that interest them, such as interior decoration and children. Carry shots of your own grandchildren with you at all times. (Special note: when speaking to Gloria Steinem, *don't* ask, "How are the kids?" Also, it's *Ms.* Steinem, not *Mrs.* or *Miss*.)

What's this mean?

Above all, it's important that you show you respect the women leaders you'll be meeting as intelligent *people*—not as sex objects or decorative attachments to some men. Thus, when you're meeting with Coretta Scott King, for instance, it's important to end the conversation by saying, "You know, Mrs. King, you are a very attractive woman, but I like you for your mind, too." Good idea!

Equally important is the need to avoid sounding condescending. Although we don't know why yet, it seems that many women resent being called "girls" or other affectionate terms. So, at the meeting next month with the League of Women Voters, we recommend that you don't say, "You're the prettiest bunch of gals I've seen in a long, long time!"

Why not?

If you keep these pointers firmly in mind, we're confident that our plan to win the women's vote—or "Operation Feetsweep," as we call it—will be a rousing success.

Get back to me on this as soon as you can. In the meantime, say "Hi!" to the "little woman" for me.

Approved/R.R.
Reminder – No diapers!

Mike

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WHO'S WHO in the Administration

A bureaucratic war's been raging at the Office of Management and Budget. On one side is the deputy director for management, **Joseph Wright**, who wants to boast about how management reform has enabled the administration to save $60 billion since 1981. On the other side is **David Stockman**, who keeps asking Wright how that supposed saving has affected the deficit. Stockman wants to keep a low profile this year because he doesn't think much can be accomplished. His feelings about the current situation can best be summarized by a statement he made to his staff when he took office in 1981: "A new administration has one window of possibility—its first year. The other three are holding actions." So Stockman believes nothing can be accomplished this year but that the administration can take the same kind of initiatives it did in 1981 again in 1985. And that's why he is determined to stay on as director of OMB. . . .

A friend of ours, while traveling on the Eastern shuttle between Washington and New York, happened to reach into the seat pocket in front of him and what came out but a resume for **Richard G. Darman**! Darman's enemies at the White House will no doubt be delighted at this sign that he is considering other lines of work. He certainly appears to be pioneering a new (and, given the shuttle's clientele, potentially quite effective) way of letting possible employers know of his availability. . . .

One cabinet member Ronald Reagan may not want to encourage to stick around for a second term is **Ray Donovan**. He's put the grand jury investigation into his old construction firm, Schiavone, behind him, but now it appears that while the investigation was going on, Donovan's old business partner, **Ronald A. Schiavone**, hired some former FBI agents, who may have cashed in on their old agency connections to get access to grand jury testimony. If they did, that could lead to another grand jury investigation, this time for obstruction of justice. . . .

A warning to the states of Illinois and North Carolina: if **Chuck Percy** loses his Senate seat this November and **Jesse Helms** wins, Helms will be chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. . . .

In

COMMERCE

Assistant Secretary for Trade Development—**Harold P. Goldfield** has been deputy assistant secretary for trade development.

DEFENSE

Assistant Secretary for Communications, Command, Control and Intelligence—**Donald C. Latham** has been deputy undersecretary for communications, command, control and intelligence.

INTERIOR

Assistant Secretary for Water and Science—**Robert N. Broadbent** has been a commissioner for the Bureau of Reclamation.

STATE

Director, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs—**Lt. Gen. John T. Chain Jr.** has been deputy chief of staff for plans and operations for the Air Force.

AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

Environmental Protection Agency

Director, Water Regulations and Standards—**Edwin L. Johnson** has been director of pesticide programs since 1975.

Director, Pesticide Programs—**Steven Schatzow** has been director of water regulations and standards since 1980.

Member, Federal Communications Commission—**James H. Quello** has been nominated for a second seven-year term.

Member, Securities and Exchange Commission—**Charles L. Marinaccio** has been chief minority counsel for the Senate Banking Committee.

Chairman, National Science Board—**Roland W. Schmitt** is senior vice president for corporate research for General Electric and has been a member of the National Science Board since 1982.

Out

DEFENSE

Comptroller—**Vincent Puritano** has resigned to join Sears World Trade Inc. in Washington.

STATE

Director, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs—**Admiral Jonathan T. Howe** is returning to duty as commander of cruiser destroyer group 3 in San Diego.

AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

Director of Congressional Relations, General Services Administration—**Richard T. Nelson** has resigned to become national field director for Citizens for America.

General Counsel, Interstate Commerce Commission—**John H. Broadley** has resigned to become a partner in the Washington office of the law firm of Jenner and Block.

Member, Federal Maritime Commission—**James V. Day** will retire when his term expires on June 30. He has been a member of the commission since 1962.

Member, International Trade Commission—**Veronica Haggart** has resigned and will return to her Washington law practice.

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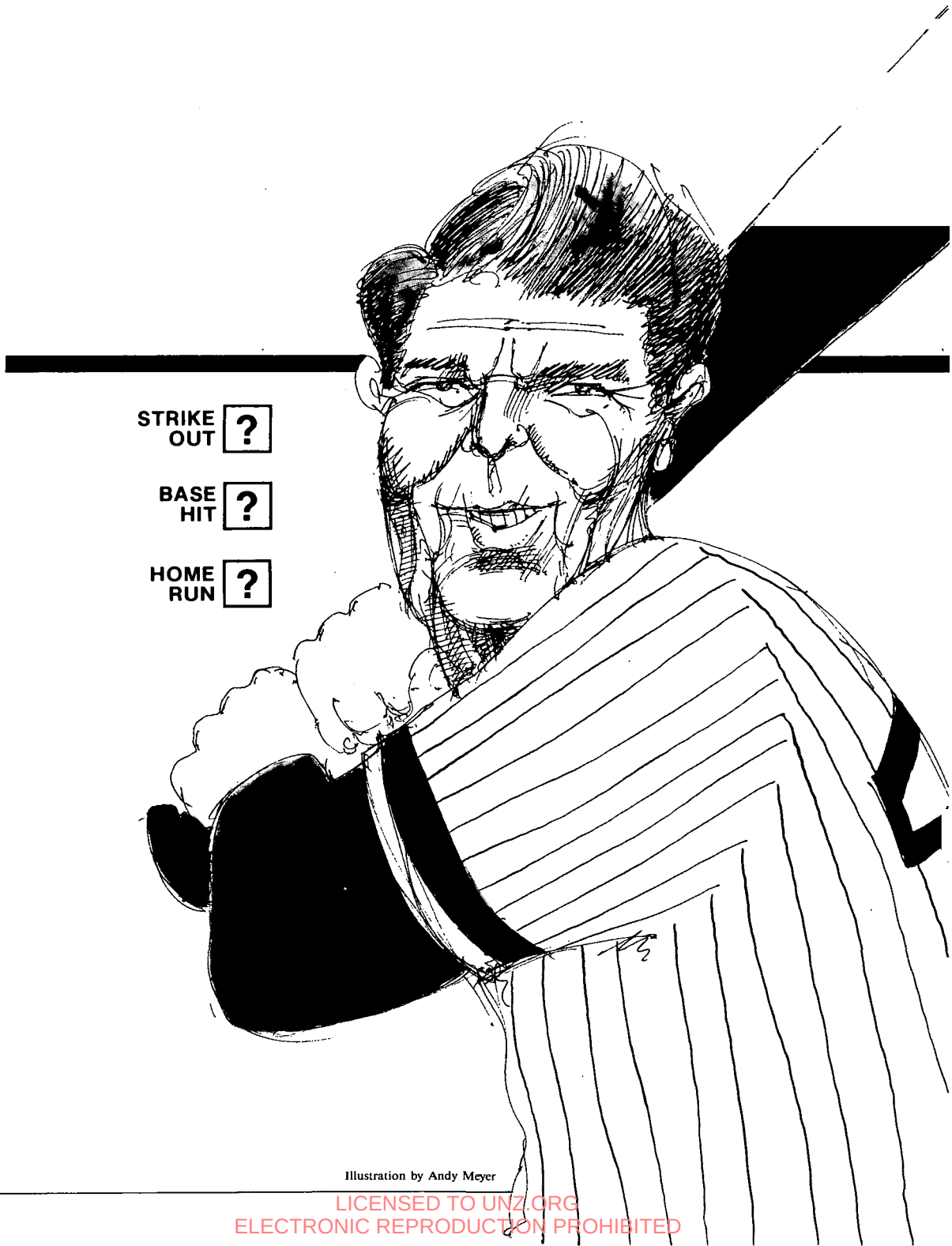

Illustration by Andy Meyer

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THE OFFICIAL 1984 REAGAN SCORECARD

BY JONATHAN ROWE
AND PAUL GLASTRIS

I. The Reagan Conservative Scorecard

"...the appointment of Caspar Weinberger as Defense secretary, and Weinberger's subsequent refusal to commit himself to a fixed spending boost, is a hopeful sign."

"Washington Monthly's Reagan Scorecard"
February 1981

We didn't support Ronald Reagan in 1980, but we did have to acknowledge that a conservative president might bring about some badly needed reforms.

Some would be relatively painless for him: taking on the bloated civil service, for example. But would Reagan be conservative when it hurt? Would he get the corporations off the dole and attack waste and abuse at the Pentagon, where it is as debilitating as it is endemic? We drew up a sampling of such issues—a "Reagan scorecard"— to help our readers follow the action.

On defense in particular we felt reason for optimism. Reagan's new Secretary of Defense was, after all, the man who had been dubbed "Cap the Knife" as Nixon's OMB chief and had expressed skepticism regarding the Pentagon's appetite for our tax dollars.

Now the results are in. Overall, Reagan's conservatism has come down much harder on AFDC recipients than it has on, say, the owners of synfuel plants or his supporters among organized labor. The biggest surprise—and disappointment—has been defense. Washington has not seen such a proclivity to throw money at a problem since the salad days of the Great Society. As Gregg Easterbrook's article in this issue suggests, the result is not a better defense, but a weaker and more expensive one.

Eisenhower warned us. "Some day there is going to be a man sitting in my chair who has not been raised in the military services and who will have little understanding of where slashes in their estimates can be made," Ike wrote back in 1956. "I shudder to think of what could happen in this country."

Jonathan Rowe is an editor of The Washington Monthly. *Paul Glastris is a Washington writer. Research assistance for this article was provided by Audrey Grumhaus and Jamie Merisotis.*

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Defund the Rich

"Income redistribution with a vengeance, but unfortunately in the wrong direction," was the way one writer in the mid-seventies described a federal program that subsidized the medical education of kids from wealthy families. The writer was not a welfare rights organizer. It was David Stockman, not yet a congressman, who observed in an article in *The Public Interest* (titled "The Social Pork Barrel") that most liberal social programs—from the farm program to aid to education—subsidized the middle class rather than the poor.

"The Social Pork Barrel" was on the mark, as far as it went. But something was lost in the translation of Stockman's ideals into practice. One reason was that medical students swing more weight than welfare mothers. Another was that Stockman worked for a president who didn't care much about the poor to begin with. The result is that, while Reagan has cut programs like AFDC and food stamps, most of the frivolous subsidies to the well-off remain.

Eliminate Impact Aid

Presidents since Ike have tried (and usually failed) to cut this federal subsidy to school districts "impacted" by the presence of large numbers of federal employees. It made a lot of sense when it helped poor rural school districts deal with the children of the thousands of servicemen thrust upon them by the construction of large military bases within their boundaries. But much of the money now winds up in communities that clearly don't need it—for example, well-to-do Washington suburbs like Montgomery County, Maryland, and Fairfax County, Virginia. The program was whittled back in the seventies; Reagan cut it even further in 1981. But funding has since crept up, and now it's just slightly lower than it was when Reagan took office—about $700 million.

Reagan should have abolished this program and used the money to provide relief to needy school districts—whether "impacted" by the presence of federal workers or just plain poor people.

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

Restore the Dignity of Yachtsmen and Private Pilots

You'd think there'd be a better way to spend $150 million than on free Coast Guard service for the nation's 13 million owners of boats and yachts. Reagan wanted to make the yachtsmen pay their way by buying license stickers the way hunters buy hunting licenses and thereby support wetlands preservation. But he did such a poor job on the details that the proposal became easy prey for the boat lobbies. Included in the bill, for example, were the 50,000 members of the volunteer Coast Guard auxiliary, who were *providing* rescue services, not consuming them. By 1983, the administration had thrown in the towel. "We stopped them dead in their tracks," a boat lobbyist gloated.

What about the nation's private pilots and Lear-jetting executives—the ones who fly into Washington to denounce welfare cheats and freeloaders? They enjoy their own enclave of socialism, a system of airports and air traffic control that is paid for mostly by a tax on commercial airline tickets. The administration proposed doubling the private pilots' fuel tax, which wouldn't begin to cover their fair share of the system's cost. The pilots and deadbeat executives managed to turn this proposal into a net gain for themselves.

The executives, for example, like to fly their sharp little planes into overcrowded airports during peak hours. Air traffic controllers are so concerned about collisions with 747s that several years ago the Federal Aviation Administration developed a system of "reliever" airports for them. Funding levels for these airports have quadrupled since Reagan took office.

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

Tamper (More) With Social Security

During the 1980 campaign, the disaster looming in the Social Security system was as unmentionable as a debauched aunt. Everybody knew about it and nobody would admit it was there.

Reagan's solution was to appoint a bipartisan commission so that Democrats would have to take some of the heat for the inevitable cuts. One favorable result was that legislation was passed to tax half the Social Security benefits of upper-income retirees, thus establishing the principle that Social Security should be geared to the recipient's need (as should *all* government income supports).

But the step was far too timid. Only retirees with incomes of more than $32,000, for married couples—that is, those earning well over $10,000 more than the median income—would be subject

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to the tax. An administration that has split hairs about whether working welfare recipients are "truly needy" seems perfectly willing to provide welfare—er, "insurance"—to people who demonstrate substantially less need. Indeed, when Donald Regan demonstrated interest in the idea of a means test for Social Security during a recent appearance on "Meet the Press," the White House quickly disavowed the idea (see James Fallows, "The Stoning of Donald Regan," June).

Actually, the only reason Roosevelt called Social Security an "insurance" system was to duck his critics, who were calling it "socialism." In reality it's a device for taking money from present workers to support retired ones. Fair enough. But by what standard can we justify a system that taxes the $14,000-a-year secretary with two kids and gives that money to a Malcolm Forbes?

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

Eliminate Postal Subsidies

It took courage for David Stockman to ask Congress to halve this $789 million "revenue foregone" budget item that gives bargain postal rates to nonprofit organizations, including a number of popular magazines. While there may be some argument for subsidizing those that otherwise really couldn't afford to publish, a big chunk of the postal subsidy today goes to hugely profitable publications like *Smithsonian* and *National Geographic*. Why should the taxpayer subsidize the postage of rich magazines that can boast to advertisers, as *Smithsonian* does, that their average reader earns $52,000 a year?

Another postal subsidy to discontinue is red-tag service that expedites delivery of publications like *Time*, *Newsweek* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Rather than charge these profitable publications the full price for overnight delivery, for which they currently pay a few pennies, the Postal Service plans to expand the number of eligible newspapers and magazines, while the rest of us pay $9.35 for similar assurance of fast service.

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

Kill The Synfuels Corporation

If there ever was a Carter program that the Reaganites should have wanted to kill, it was the Synthetic Fuels Corporation. Here was $88 billion -worth of government intrusion into the marketplace to subsidize the production of synthetic fuel that is too expensive and that we don't need (see "The Energy Crisis: How to End It," Gregg Easterbrook, October 1980). Even the most adroit tax lawyers would have trouble demonstrating that the recipients of this subsidy—Exxon, Tenneco, and others—meet the standard of "truly needy." Synfuels production would consume enormous amounts of water and threaten the air and land.

David Stockman saw the light, but in short order he was persuaded to ease up by people like Jim Wright, the House Majority Leader from oil-rich Texas, and Jim McClure, the Republican chairman of the Senate energy committee. The administration's conversion to synfuels was complete when Tenneco and other partners in North Dakota's Great Plains Coal Gassification Project—the largest synfuels undertaking—threatened to pull out if they didn't get another billion on top of the two they had already received. Ed Meese had a chat with Ed Noble, the Synfuels president, and a check for $790 million was on its way. (Noble was not exactly a disinterested party. At one point, 83 percent of the subsidies SFC had issued were to companies that did business with his family energy business.)

Reagan has since changed his tune on the Synfuels Corporation: expenditures are scheduled to fall by more than half. Congressional opposition was part of the reason, but more important was the fact that the oil companies were dropping out. With an abundance of *real* natural gas (the existence of which James Schlesinger, Carter's energy chief, had denied), nobody wants to bother with the expensive synthetic stuff. Now that this agency's superfluity has been demonstrated so clearly, we consider Reagan's failure to abolish it a defeat.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Crack Down On The Doctors

Now *here's* a dilemma for Ronald Reagan. Medical costs are out of control, taking about one dollar out of every ten we spend. Through Medicare, Medicaid, and the tax deduction offered for health insurance premiums, the federal government underwrites almost half the nation's $350 billion medical bill. If present trends continue, Medicare alone will be a trillion dollars in the hole by the year 2005.

It's not the bureaucrats who are running up the bill. It's the hospitals, drug companies, medical equipment suppliers, and most of all, the doctors, who prescribe the drugs and order the surgery. And most of these doctors—average in-

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come, $99,500— are Republicans. So what do you do when you're a Republican administration, torn between the deficit and your constituents in the AMA? You fudge.

Consider, for example, the administration's plan for getting Medicare hospital costs under control. All hospital patients are now categorized according to one of 467 Diagnostic Related Groups (DRGs). Medicare will pay a set fee for treatments in each of these groups, instead of letting the hospitals run up the bill.

It's a better approach—if universally applied. But doctors don't have to accept such DRG-based payments as full compensation. They can, and usually do, bill their patients for more than Medicare allows. Even if that option were foreclosed, they could simply perform more procedures, or refuse to treat Medicare patients.

Then there's the administration's proposed "voucher" plan—a shot of the Milton Friedman approach. According to free-market theory, armies of voucher-wielding oldsters will be able to bargain down their hospital bills. But we already have the most competitive medical system in the world—and the most expensive. For one thing, comparison shopping is a bit difficult when you've just had a stroke. For another, people tend to go to the hospitals where their doctors practice. But more to the point, private hospitals "compete" already, and they haven't shown themselves very efficient. A recent study found that investor-owned hospitals—the kind the Reaganites like best—ran up 8 percent higher costs (and charged 23 percent higher fees) than their nonprofit counterparts.

Such tinkering is doomed to fail, for a single reason: the "marketplace" doesn't work unless you are the one who writes the bills. Doctors—like firemen, policemen, and others who protect our lives and society—provide such an important service that they possess the power to blackmail us, to force us to accept the terms (and fees) they dictate. As long as the "fee-for-service" system is left intact, these "reforms" will not get to the heart of the problem. The only way to do that is to put all doctors in the employ of the government; train them for free, pay them a reasonable salary, and tell them where they're needed (see "Radical Surgery," February 1983).

Is Reagan sympathetic to this? Is the Pope a Lutheran? Remember, this is the man who originally opposed Medicare as too "socialistic." Consider what he did to the National Health Service Corps. Before he was elected, the Corps was paying for the education of some 6,500 doctors and health care professionals, at an average annual cost of about $10,000 each, in return for their agreeing to serve for several years in places where they are desperately needed. About 2,000 people entered the program each year. Mr. Reagan has cut this number to 150—and will likely reduce it to zero if he wins a second term.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Standing Up to Big Labor

Reagan did take on labor in a few instances—the PATCO strike being the most notable. We think Reagan was right to oppose PATCO's preposterous demand for a wage increase of $10,000 across-the-board at a time when a GS-14 air traffice controller was making up to $53,000.

But before you conclude that Reagan is a fearless crusader against featherbedding and inflated wage scales, or that Mondale is the only candidate of special interests, read on.

Set Trucking Free

"Disastrous" was the way Teamsters President Jackie Presser described the partial deregulation of the trucking industry that occurred in the last year of the Carter administration.

Before deregulation the Interstate Commerce Commission had protected the trucking industry—and the Teamsters—behind a fortress of red tape. Would-be competitors had to apply for authority to haul each commodity over every route they wanted to drive. The big trucking companies kept employees at the ICC filing room to alert them to any potential competition, so they could file formal appeals that could drag on for months. Making matters worse, the established truckers had special immunity from the antitrust laws to fix rates on a regional basis, thus freeing them from rate competition as well.

Sheltered from life's rigors, the Teamsters could demand just about any wage they wanted, which the trucking companies would pass along to their shippers. Moreover, the Byzantine route system—company X could haul running shoes (but *not* socks) from Portland to Carson City, but only by way of San Francisco—guaranteed plenty of extra driving.

The Carter people broke up this crazy arrangement, and the Teamsters are feeling it. With 50 percent more long-haul carriers, there is real competition, and in 1982 the union had to settle for a three-year wage increase that was only half the rate of inflation. Still, the Carter deregulation was

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only partial. Small truckers continue to run a paperwork gauntlet, and companies can still fix some rates among themselves.

Who better than Ronald Reagan to cast such vestiges of government regulation out of the temple? But don't forget which union supported Reagan in 1980, and signed off on the appointment of Nevada trucking attorney Reese Taylor as ICC commissioner. Don't forget that presidential confidante Michael Deaver represented the California Trucking Association in his political consulting days. And don't forget that when Reagan first came to Washington as president-elect, his first courtesy call was to—guess who?—Jackie Presser.

After Reagan took office, the Department of Transportation drafted a "Phase II" deregulation bill to do the job a conservative president presumably would want done. The White House sent it back to DOT for "further study."

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Illustration by Andy Meyer

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Clean Up Union Pension Funds

The Teamsters Central States Pension Fund, once a synonym for self-dealing big union bosses, is being cleaned up. The trustees now have no control over investments. They've even paid back $6.5 million in ill-siphoned gains.

This is a score for the administration, although the Carter people, not the Reaganites, started the prosecution. Possibly the administration was as interested in cleaning up Teamster President Presser, an ex-Central States trustee, as in cleaning up the fund itself. Presser, who must have a special in-box for subpoenas, delivered the union to Reagan in 1980, and is an occasional guest at the White House.

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

Sink Merchant Marine Subsidies

Americans were spending half a billion dollars a year to prop up the American shipping industry (for "national security" reasons) when Ronald Reagan came to power. Most of this money went to merchant seamen, whose union contracts, with their featherbedding agreements and high wages, put labor costs as much as five times higher than those of foreign-flag ships.

Reagan did freeze subsidies to ship*builders* — and then turned around and handed the shipbuilding industry contracts for 200 new vessels for his new "600-ship navy." But for ship operators, and hence seamen's unions, Reagan was very accommodating; he wants the unions to back him in 1984, as they did in 1980. First, he loosened the requirement that subsidized carriers buy American-made (and more expensive) ships. (This pleased the seafarers unions because it meant the operators for whom their members worked would not be under so much pressure to cut labor costs.) Then he granted ocean liner cartels increased immunity from antitrust laws.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Slice Davis-Bacon

Why would churches and other nonprofit groups try to avoid federal money when they are building low-income housing? Because of a law called Davis-Bacon, which requires that construction workers get top-dollar on projects using federal funds. This can increase wage costs on such projects by 25 percent or more.

Davis-Bacon was enacted during the Depression, when southern contractors roved the country with gangs of impoverished blacks, bidding a pittance on federal projects, which were the only ones around. The law effectively stopped this exploitation. But today, the main effect of Davis-Bacon is to pad the salaries of building tradesmen, who already make 50 percent more than other U.S. workers. That means fewer projects and fewer jobs. It also means poor people in federally sponsored housing pay higher rents.

A ripe issue for President Reagan? You are forgetting about the Teamsters, who extracted from candidate Reagan a promise that Davis-Bacon would not be sliced. To the president's credit, however, he did the next best thing—rewrite the regulations so that "prevailing wage" no longer means "very top wage," thereby eliminating more than half the overcharge in the process, according to the Congressional Budget Office.

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

Push Youth Wage

No, it's not the panacea for the nation's two million-plus jobless teenagers (45 percent of them minority) that the president says it is. It's not a substitute for the kind of broad-scale, WPA-style jobs program the nation desperately needs. And when the president suggests it, an attack on the minimum wage itself lurks just offstage in the rhetorical wings.

Still, the president is right in proposing a lower minimum wage for teenagers during the summer months. There are lots of shopowners and others who would love extra help for the summer but can't afford it at the full minimum wage. Moreover, teenagers often don't have the skills to merit that amount.

The president tried once, in the Employment Act of 1982, to get a youth subminimum wage. He's trying again this year with the hyperbolically named Youth Employment Opportunity Wage Act, which would shave 85 cents off the $3.35 minimum wage for teenagers working from May 1 through September 30. This time the president stands a better chance. Minorities are beginning to question the privileges of organized labor, and both the National Council of Black Mayors and the National Association of Minority Contractors have lined up behind the bill.

The president's case would be a lot stronger if he expanded the Summer Youth Employment Program, which gave jobs to 700,000 last summer; instead, the president wants to cut it by 12 percent. Since a portion of any new subminimum wage jobs would go to clean-cut kids from the

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suburbs instead of teenagers from the South Bronx, the need for a targeted jobs program is imperative.

Still, the bill can't do much harm, even as it stands. And isn't it better that at least some kids get jobs this summer instead of hanging out during those steamy months?

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

Taming a Bloated Bureaucracy

Ronald Reagan was going to run the government "like a business." But he cut the Internal Revenue Service's enforcement budget—the one government expenditure that actually makes money. He let James Watt practically give away government-owned coal and oil reserves. And his Department of Energy offered enriched uranium to the nuclear industry for $6.7 billion less than what it costs the government to produce it. These examples suggest that the president is a little weak on certain business concepts, such as "accounts receivable."

Reagan's record on proposing reforms for the bureaucracy is better, although getting those reforms enacted has been a problem—to a great extent, because of the power of the federal employee unions. But the administration's own antigovernment ideology is also to blame. Just as few people in the Defense Department and the Pentagon would trust, say, George McGovern to reform the military bureaucracy, few bureaucrats in the nonmilitary federal government, let alone the public at large, ever believed Ronald Reagan's ultimate motive for reform was to make the government work better.

Reform The Civil Service

First, the good news: Ronald Reagan has reduced the size of the federal bureaucracy by about 25,000. Now for the bad news: that is less than 1 percent of the federal work force, and the cuts were made undiscriminatingly.

Reagan and his controversial head of the Office of Personnel Management, Donald Devine, deserve some credit for trying to get Congress to approve a merit pay program for all federal employees, but the Senate Civil Service Committee let the unions rewrite the bill to their liking before the House committee killed the idea outright. The administration also asked, and didn't get, permission from Congress to change the way RIFs ("reductions in force") are carried out, by placing greater emphasis on performance. In the fifties, when Eisenhower wanted to fire 100,000 federal workers, he just issued pink slips. But Reagan had to let a federal employee whose job was eliminated "bump" another of lesser seniority, and so on down the line, forcing out the young (however able) in favor of their elders (however inept).

The government employees' unions proved a powerful opposition to sensible reform, but they were helped in whipping up the fury of their members by Reagan's undisguised contempt for the idea of government service. As he put it in his inaugural address, "Government *is* the problem." Had he shown a real desire to make the government work better, he might have achieved more substantial reforms.

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

Retire Early Retirement

Military personnel are eligible for retirement after 20 years of service, leaving us with many "retirees" who haven't sprouted a single grey hair and are happily collecting their pensions as they move on to second careers. As Phillip Keisling pointed out in these pages a year ago ("Soldiers of Good Fortune," May 1983), early retirement in the military has proven to be not only a tremendous drain on the Treasury—the military retirement system is currently operating at a deficit of $600 billion—but also a major reason why the military has a hard time holding on to some of its most skilled personnel. We could save billions by raising the minimum from 20 to 30 years, but Ronald Reagan won't touch this one.

Reagan has made a better effort on the civilian side. Devine asked Congress to raise employee contributions to the federal employee retirement fund from 9 percent to 11 percent, to base pensions on an employee's best five salary years rather than his best three, and to raise the minimum retirement age from 55 to 65. He lost not only in the Democratic House, but also in the Republican Senate. He had better luck in getting federal employees into the Social Security system, but even this was only a partial victory—it will apply only to new employees (see "Hatch 22," Teresa Riordan, November 1983). For the most part, the federal system of retirement remains out of control.

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

Pop The Colas

A COLA is, of course, shorthand for cost-of-living adjustment. Given the inflationary anxieties of America in the seventies, it seemed

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reasonable to offer these adjustments to federal retirees. The problem is that within a few years this automatic feature resulted in more than 100,000 retired workers getting more than they did working for the government. A salve for inflation has become a cause.

Back in October 1980 Reagan told the National Association of Retired Federal Employees that he would not eliminate their semi-annual COLAs. Stockman went after them anyway, and now COLAs are given annually. This is one campaign promise we were glad to see Reagan renege on; he should have abolished them altogether.

STRIKE OUT ☐ BASE HIT ☑ HOME RUN ☐

End The "Comparability" Scam

When the government compares the salaries it pays with those paid by the private sector for the purpose of determining federal workers' "comparability" raises, it ignores the federal employees' lavish pensions. The comparability measure also ignores the difference between what federal workers do and what their inflated job descriptions *say* they do, and it is based on only the highest-paying 3 percent of American business organizations.

So while federal workers complain that they are "officially" underpaid by 18 percent, the average salary (not counting benefits) of the Postal Service's 600,000 employees was more than $22,000 last year. This year more than 400,000 government workers will make more than $30,000, not counting employees of the Postal Service, the military, or the intelligence agencies. Underpaid? Ask the ten qualified citizens who, on average, apply for each federal government job opening.

Jimmy Carter smelled a rat in these "comparability" ratings and began gathering the data to make more sensible comparisons with private sector salaries. Reagan's bureaucrats are still working on it. They ought to finish any decade now.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

True Concern for Defense

Ronald Reagan's enthusiasm for bureaucratic reform doesn't extend to the military bureaucracy. Indeed, his defense budget requests—more than $300 billion for next year, almost $400 billion in 1987—seem to grow right along with his faith in whatever the military brass tells him. Yet we're still reading stories about faulty weapon systems and cost overruns in the newspapers. Even the hawks at the Heritage Foundation have found themselves protesting the defense community's dangerous tendency to saddle us with budget-busting high-tech weapon systems that don't work.

So it's probably safe to say the president didn't read our "35 Ways to Cut the Defense Budget" (April 1982). In that article we suggested that the Pentagon stop procurement of the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, Nimitz-class aircraft carriers, AH-64 Attack helicopters, Bradley Fighting Vehicles, and a host of other faulty and outlandishly expensive weapons—and start supplying our forces with the sensible and effective weapons they need. Here are a few more suggestions Reagan didn't take us up on.

Buy Small Subs

You're the Soviet military officer in charge of tracking down our nuclear submarines in time of war. Which would you rather Reagan chose: a swarm of light, mobile, missile-bearing subs or a fleet of 20 that were half as big as a World War II battleship, made lots of noise, and half of which would be in for repairs at any given time?

If you chose the big mothers, then you understand why the Trident is good for the Russians. Why Reagan has endorsed these $2 billion Carter mistakes is another question. He could, for example, have gone to the Shallow Underwater Missile (SUM), which was developed back in 1978. These proposed low-cost diesel-powered subs would have been one-fortieth the size of the Trident and about one-tenth the cost. They could have been spread so widely as to be virtually invulnerable to a Soviet first strike.

No chance of that now. Not only did Reagan endorse Carter's Trident, he's commited $92 billion to Trident II into the 1990s.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Replace The M-1 Tank

Reagan has ordered these tanks for $2.7 million each. Now let's just hope he doesn't have to use them. The M-1 is an unbelievable gas guzzler; its 60 tons are too heavy for many bridges in the European countryside it's supposed to protect; and at 1800 degrees its exhaust is hot enough to set underbrush and infantrymen on fire, not to mention that it makes itself a perfect target for Soviet heat-seeking missiles. Worst of all, in a series of Army tests in 1982, the tank's dust-

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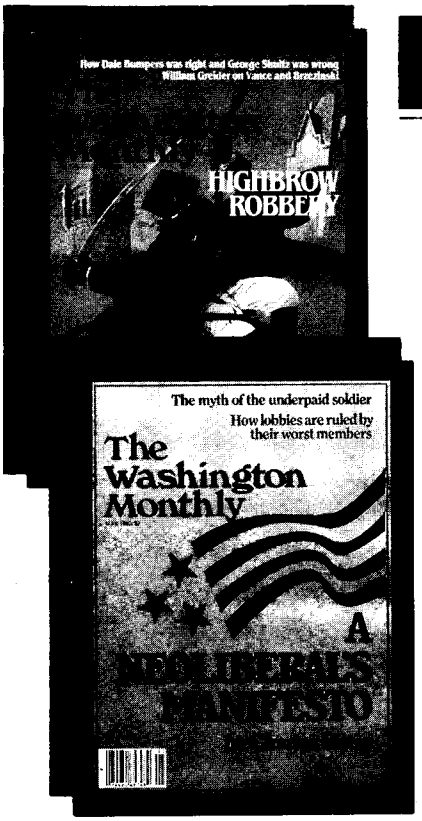

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sensitive engine and transmission often broke down. For the price of each of these lemons the president could have purchased three of the more reliable M-60s.

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Cancel The F-18

This is the plane with the $13 billion cost overruns that the Navy (under Carter) opposed; that the Marines (under Carter and Reagan) declined to buy; and that David Stockman, during the summer of '81, tried to convince President Reagan to cancel. It's also a tremendous pork-barrel project, built by three different contractors—McDonnell-Douglas, Northrop, and General Electric—all with the congressional contacts to keep on building.

The reason the F-18 is such a costly dud is that Carter's defense secretary, Harold Brown, planned it with MBA notions of efficiency. It was originally intended to be a light-weight, low-cost alternative to the Air Force's F-15 fighter. But much as Robert McNamara did with the TFX, Brown decided to make the plane do multiple duty and turned it into a fighter *and* light attack plane for the Navy *and* the Marines—four functions in all. The resulting plane, at an exorbitant cost of $27 million each, could perform none of its functions as well as the F-15 it was to replace.

Reagan should have canceled the F-18, spent half the money on more A-7s for the Navy and AV-8 Harriers for the Marines, and used the other half to cut the deficit.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Disband The Central Command

Carter called it the "Rapid Deployment Force." Reagan calls it the "Central Command." But it's still "Son of Iranian Rescue Mission"—the same bureaucracy-intensive reorganization that we described in our original scorecard.

The ostensible purpose for pouring billions into this new command structure—which just aggravates the military's legendary interservice rivalries—is to protect access to Persian Gulf oil. But why should the United States, which gets only 8 percent of its oil from the region, be paying for protection of this oil in the first place? What about Japan and Western Europe, which depend on the Gulf for about 75 percent and 50 percent of their oil, respectively?

Obviously the U.S. needs a crack force ready for deployment anywhere in the world. As our enemies know well, we already have one—the Marines. Reagan should disband the Central Command and spent the money instead on a strengthened Marine Corps, including procurement of more weapons like the A-10 close-support planes, which the Marines really need.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Lean On NATO

After World War II, America decided to help its European allies (including newly-formed West Germany) maintain a common defense against the Soviets. Since we had the money, we paid most of the bill.

It worked so well that soon Europe was prospering. Freed of the need to provide for most of its own defense, Europe outpaced America by building better cars and machinery than we did. Still, we kept paying for NATO, and today we devote twice the share of our economy to defense that our NATO allies (averaged) do—$127 billion to the defense of Europe and $47 billion to defend Asia.

As an undisputed hardliner, Reagan could have taken on NATO in a way liberals would never dare. And conservative intellectuals like Irving Kristol and the Hoover Institution's Melvin Krauss would have backed him up. Even that inveterate Europhile Henry Kissinger recently suggested that America might pull 50 percent of its troops out of NATO to give our allies a little incentive to do more for themselves.

Instead, Reagan boosted by 20 percent the share of our GNP going to defense and continued to devote the usual third of that to our allies.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Cutting Red Tape

Anyone who has endured an OSHA inspection, or filled out an income tax return recently, knows that the government can be a genuine nuisance. So we understand where the regulation-haters in Reagan's camp are coming from. We even applaud them for abolishing the rule that required buses and subway entrances to have special lifts for the handicapped—an expense that was far more cumbersome than having subsidized shuttles for those who need them.

But the Reaganites went further. Their operating premise was not how much regulation we need, but how much we can get rid of. (Zoning regulations in wealthy suburbs somehow escaped their critical gaze.) This attitude was typified by the Presidential Task Force on

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Regulatory Relief, which the president appointed after his election. Counsel to the commission was one Boyden C. Gray, a Washington lawyer who numbered the American Mining Congress and the auto industry among his clients. The administration proceeded to cut back on mine inspections—with a 25 percent increase in deaths due to mine cave-ins—and tried to abolish life-saving requirements for airbags and automatic seat belts.

This rush to deregulate sometimes angered those members of Reagan's own constituency—big business—who had gone to some expense to comply with various regulations. For example, after both Exxon and Bacardi had spent a bundle to comply with water quality regulations, the EPA pulled the rug from beneath them by rolling the regulations back. The administration's emphasis on "voluntary compliance"showed contempt for companies that obeyed the law by not making sure their competitors obeyed. At the very least you might expect a conservative president to deregulate in a way that minimized paperwork. But the administration has used elaborate "cost-benefit analyses" as a means to clog the regulatory process.

The one case of regulators run amok that Reagan truly needed to address was the Federal Reserve Board. The Fed's tight money policies have held the whole economy hostage. Reagan should have listened to conservative economists like Milton Friedman and asked Congress to end the Fed's independence. He didn't have the nerve. Besides, it will be nice to have the Fed to blame if the economy is sputtering this fall.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Check the Banks

Here's one on which Reagan did as we suggested. We were wrong, and so is he.

Deregulating interest rates seemed like a great idea. In the past, people with a lot of money could buy Treasury bills at high market rates, while you and I got a measly 5½ percent on our passbooks. Why shouldn't we get a high rate like the big boys?

Well, we got it. Carter started it and the Reaganites kept the ball rolling. It was almost euphoric at first. Then the truth hit home. The interest rates we were paying to borrow weren't coming down because the rates we were receiving on our deposits were so high. It's more important that producers have access to money at reasonable rates than that money earn more interest. We would reimpose the interest rate ceilings and apply them to money market funds, too, so there would be no unfair advantage.

Of even greater importance is the question of deregulating the banks so they can go into other businesses. On this one, Reagan's error is his own.

Over the past several years the safeguards Congress erected around the banks to prevent a repeat of the Great Crash have been falling. Banks are getting into sideline ventures—as they did in the twenties—and have figured out ways to operate across state lines as well. Reagan hasn't actually deregulated the banks—the banks have been using loopholes in the law. But his administration has been acting as cheerleader and has been pushing a bill sponsored by Senator Jake Garn that would leave the banks free to do just about anything they want.

The travails of Continental Illinois Bank in Chicago should be a warning about giving banks too broad a leash. It should be a warning to taxpayers as well. Despite the administration's talk about deregulation and free markets, when Continental Illinois tottered, it was the federal government—which means the taxpayers—who came to the rescue.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Enterprise and Productivity

Imagine that Ronald Reagan had lost the 1980 election to Jimmy Carter and it was Carter who had given us the economic policies of the last four years. How would Ronald Reagan, back on the campaign trail in 1984, rip apart the last few years of "Carternomics"?

He might begin by attacking the deficits; he could simply reread his 1980 campaign speeches. He could go on to dismiss the current demand-fed recovery as the result of those massive, Keynesian, and typically Democratic deficits. He'd point to the epidemic of business failures, the record-high real interest rates and trade deficits, the lagging productivity and capital formation, the drop in the savings rate—and predict economic doom.

Of the current spate of mergers, acquisitions, and leveraged buyouts, he could say that, like adultery and illegitimate children, they may be an ineradicable part of life, but a tax code that *rewards* such behavior is clearly wrong. In a burst of conservative indignation Reagan might even proclaim that all manipulations of the tax code, such as accelerated depreciation and "tax leasing," are inherently inefficient because they distort investment decisions in the private sector.

The economy, after all, was Reagan's issue of

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issues, the sun around which everything else revolved. To critics who derided the cruelty of his budget cuts, he would respond, in effect, "I am going to create prosperity and jobs. Then there won't be a *need* for these handouts that you are so enamored of providing."

Reagan was right to put enterprise and production—rhetorically, at least—at the center of his program. For more than a decade, the prevailing liberalism had taken the nation's productive machine for granted and had set about the pleasant task of redistributing the fruits and protecting workers and the public from undesirable offshoots, like pollution. The machine itself was permitted to erode.

Reagan and his advisors saw this. And they seized upon it as a way to make the right-wing agenda take flight. Budget cuts, tax cuts, and deregulation—but most of all, tax cuts—were going to create an orgy of investment and enterprise after years of liberal impotence.

What's that? You're not working any harder today than you were before the new tax cuts? And you used your tax cuts to pay some bills or get the car painted rather than to buy newly issued stock? That's what most people did. It's why we wound up spending our way to recovery, just like the Democrats used to do.

But the reason Reagan's program didn't pan out went deeper. The liberals made much of the way the tax cut favored the rich. Unfair, yes. But it wouldn't have been so bad if those rich folks had produced that promised sea of investment that was going to lift everyone's ships.

The problem was that Reagan's tax cuts were the mirror-image of what Stockman had dubbed "social pork barrel" liberalism: they gave too much where it was not needed in order to provide too little where it was. The 29-percent cut in the top rate on investment income and the drop in the top rate on capital gains to 20 percent didn't apply just to productive investments like new stock issues. They applied as well to tax shelters, race horses, real estate speculation, antiques—all the pecuniary diversions that cause our economy to go nowhere. The Reaganites boasted that lower tax rates would diminish the use of tax shelters, but *Business Week* predicted, late in 1981, that Reagan's plan would give the shelter business a "hefty booster shot." Sure enough, tax shelter filings at the SEC leaped more than 50 percent—from $5.5 billion in 1982 to $8.4 billion in 1983. Meanwhile, savings declined.

There was more pork-barreling on the corporate side. The president gave out tax breaks that would amount to half a trillion dollars over the decade (Congress halved that the next year), with 80 perent of it going to the largest .1 percent of all corporations. The result: we got takeover battles and companies selling tax breaks to one another because they had more than they could use. For the amount he gave away to the behemoths, Reagan could have eliminated taxes entirely for the vast majority of smaller companies, which, as is well known, provide most of the new jobs and innovation and should be the first concern of a conservative, enterprise-minded president.

The tragedy is that Reagan had a golden opportunity to gain the kind of tax reform a true conservative should want—an end to all loopholes and deductions, with a corresponding reduction in rates. This would both end the economic engineering that the government conducts through the tax laws and relieve us all of the chore—and economic drain—of acting as accountants for the federal government. The revenues he gave up in "Kemp-Roth" tax cuts he could have used to ease the pain inherent in a transition to a simplified tax. The mere fact that lawyers and accountants would have hated it sug-

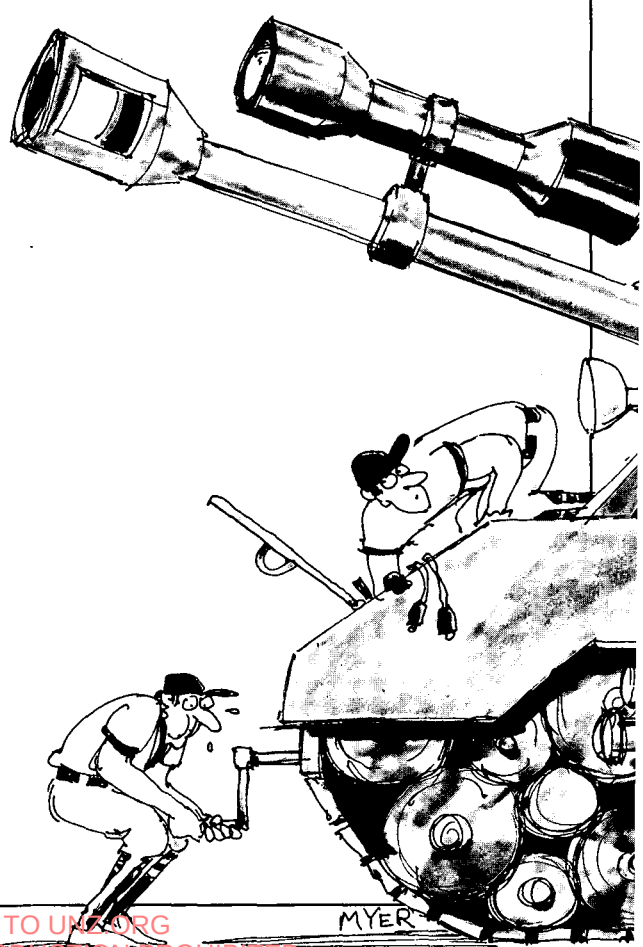

Illustration by Andy Meyer

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gests what a boost to productivity a change to a simplified tax might bring.

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Get Energy Off the Dole

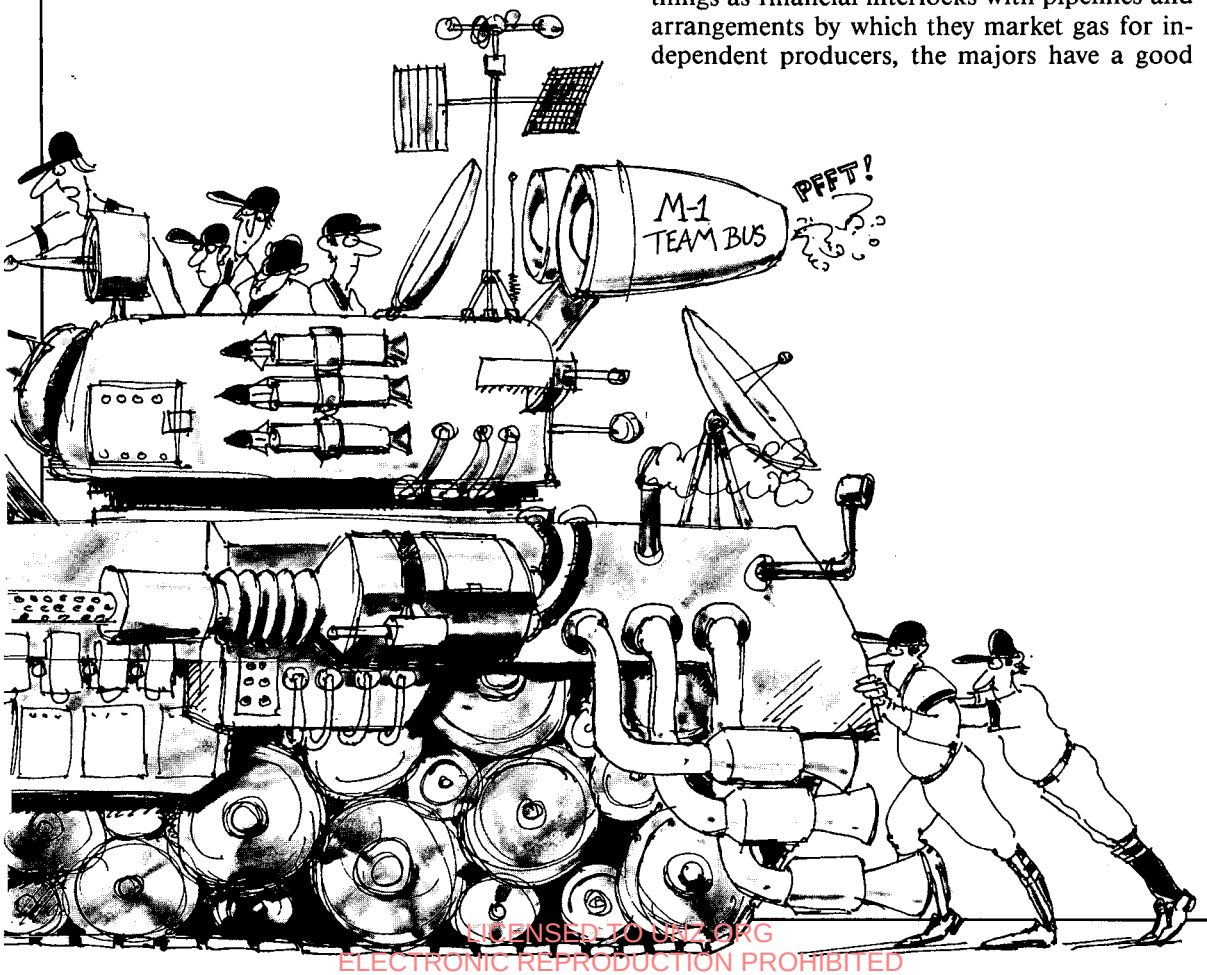
If Reagan were a real conservative, what would he do about energy?

First, he would end all subsidies. Second, if he did get the government involved he would seek to maximize opportunities for individual entrepreneurs. A defense-minded president would seek a diverse energy system with many small units rather than one offering a few inviting targets for enemy missiles. He would also (though reluctantly) establish standby gas rationing as security against blackmail in the Middle East. He'd stress conservation, which involves old-fashioned thrift and a lessening of me-generation self-indulgence. At the very least he'd promote energy sources that could hack it in the market.

More Reagan liberalism to report. He preserved billions in tax breaks for oil companies, kept the Synthetic Fuels Corporation subsidy (see above), and went on such a spending spree for nuclear energy that the arch-conservative Heritage Foundation called him "virtually a socialist" in this regard. Yet it was free market with a vengeance for solar, conservation, and other alternatives that offer opportunities for entrepreneurs and that are much harder for the Russians to knock out. There's no standby rationing. Conservation he spoke of as almost immoral. As for cutting it in the market, the words to remember are Seabrook and WPPSS ("Whoops").

OK. Let's talk gas, which is clean, abundant, and our best chance to break OPEC for good. Federal price controls have kept production down, and controls on newly discovered gas expire in 1986. Heck, says Reagan, let's take price controls off *all* gas, existing wells included. This will turn the gas fields into rabbit warrens of production. We'll get so much, prices will come down.

Hate to be a kill-joy, but Reagan isn't thinking about (or perhaps he is) the oil majors, who control about half the natural gas. Through such things as financial interlocks with pipelines and arrangements by which they market gas for independent producers, the majors have a good



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deal of control over the price for which decontrolled gas would sell, and they aren't awfully inclined to make gas so cheap that they can't sell their oil. Since these majors control about 70 percent of the "old" gas, Reagan's plan would mean perhaps $70 billion to $100 billion in their pockets.

If Reagan were really thinking about the country, he'd let the controls on new gas expire and leave controls on old gas in place. He'd push to repeal the remaining provisions of Carter's harebrained Fuel Use Act, which actually pressured industry *not* to use gas. (To his credit, Reagan gained repeal of part of the act already.) And Reagan would also seek repeal of the fuel adjustment clause, which enables your gas company to pass along fuel price increases to consumers, no questions asked.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

II. The Reagan Liberal Scorecard

As readers of this magazine know, we do not disparage enterprise. To the contrary, we see it as the best engine of economic health, and a source of creativity and freedom in the national life. But the president and those around him elevate acquisitiveness into an agency of the divine. If we just cut the taxes and get rid of the regulations, it will unleash the Force, and everything will work out for the best.

This view of the world is well suited to a president who likes his afternoon nap, and to a class of individuals who share their righteousness over dinner at the club. But anyone whose life touches beyond places like Pacific Palisades and the banquet rooms of the better hotels understands that enterprise, important as it is, leaves many needs untouched. Sometimes it creates those needs.

The modern liberal tradition began with this recognition. It saw government as a means of providing what enterprise alone does not: fair play between, say, employers and employees; equality of opportunity among those in different life circumstances; a commitment to service that rises above the acquisitiveness to which our country is prone; and a way to prevent those with economic power from threatening the health and safety of the rest of us.

The Reaganites were right about one thing. After 20 years of reign, liberals had become defenders of governmental programs and their constituencies. They had lost the ability to distinguish entitlement from need and had come to view automatically any cut in spending as an affront to the unfortunate. The Reaganites were right as well to raise the issue of volunteerism. In their eagerness to create a bureaucracy to correspond to every problem, liberals had forgotten that voluntary helping is still the best kind.

But the Reaganites didn't reject just the excesses of liberalism. They rejected the idea of a constructive role for government, period. Fairness would take care of itself; who are we to question the invisible hand, anyway? Equality was just more meddling in private decisions. And while they spoke of volunteerism and service, it sounded suspiciously like a romanticized cop-out. Certainly the president and those close to him had not set much of an example in their lives prior to Reagan's victory, nor have they in the policies they've promoted since. None of this should be surprising. But it is helpful to review the record, if for no other reason than to consider what an alternative might be like.

Education

Public education has been the nation's single largest commitment to equal opportunity, and it's failing. We need better compensation for good teachers, and an end to rinky-dink certification requirements that cause bright people to go into other professions. We need a curriculum that is more stimulating and demanding. More than anything, we need a national leader to rally the nation to the cause.

Instead, Ronald Reagan tried to rally us behind his proposal to destroy the public schools through tuition tax credits. Reagan's other great contribution to the education debate—besides budget cuts—was his support of prescribed prayers for school kids, which will do wonders for those struggling to escape the poverty of the South Bronx.

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Health and Safety

Though traditionally a liberal concern, one might have expected the president to do better here. He says that government should do only what individuals can't do for themselves. Have you tried lately to test the chemical contents of the food at the supermarket or the safety of the chemicals to which you are exposed at work?

Instead, the administration has shown the kind of disregard for human life that gives capitalism a bad name. It tried to derail the passive restraint requirement for cars. It opposed labels showing the salt content of food and whether meat contains ground up bones (even though an informed consumer is key to free market theories). It held up regulations regarding infant formula contents amidst reports of dangerous nutritional deficiencies among prominent brands. It expedited approval of new drugs like Oraflex, which was later connected with over 40 deaths in Britain.

In the workplace the administration showed more concern with protecting employers from OSHA inspectors than in protecting workers from hazards. It dragged its feet on the deadly fumigant EDB and had to be pushed and shoved into approving a tougher rule relating to asbestos, which is linked closely to cancer.

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Civil Rights and Equal Opportunity

This is another area in which one would expect a Republican president to get at least a passing grade. The Party of Lincoln, after all. Moreover, civil rights are also a way of helping people gain entrance to the economic mainstream, where they can then provide for themselves.

Yet it was this area that seemed to provide the clearest window to the administration's id. Remember the proposed tax exemption for "seg schools"? The initial opposition to the Voting Rights Act? The 15-percent cutback in civil rights enforcement by federal agencies? Justice Department civil rights chief William Bradford Reynolds has reversed the department's prior policies in every area.

Similarly, the administration has adamantly opposed the Equal Rights Amendment and wants to deny women the right to choose whether to have a child. Almost 46 percent of mothers with children under three are working, and by 1990 one-half the country's preschool children will have a mother who works. Yet the administration has cut programs from which day care is funded by 20 percent.

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National Service

If the president really wanted to see volunteerism flourish, he would promote a service ethic in our national life. The best place to start would be to restore the draft.

The volunteer army is a misnomer. It's really a professional army that relieves privileged young men and women of the obligation to serve their country. Reagan should like the draft. It could save $5 billion off the strained defense budget and would encourage patriotism in young people.

On the other hand, there's a perhaps more compelling reason why Reagan might *not* like it (and why liberals should). Would the mothers of Great Neck have sat quietly by while the president sent off their sons and daughters to fight in Lebanon?

The draft is just one part of national service. There's the Peace Corps, which Reagan has tolerated grudgingly, and VISTA, which he tried unsuccessfully to kill but which still has been cut substantially. These enable young people to develop a commitment to serve at a formative period of their lives and should be expanded. Ditto the Health Service Corps (see "Crack Down on the Doctors," page 32).

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Income Support

Here the purpose should be to end welfare for the well-to-do (more than $10 billion a year in Social Security goes to households with incomes of more than $25,000 a year) while giving more help to those in real need (one-third of elderly single women get by on less than $4,000 a year).

The answer is to unify all income support programs—Social Security, welfare, unemployment, and veterans compensation—into one program of insurance against need. A work requirement would apply but not to the retired or to women with preschool children. This change should of course be phased in with due regard to the expectations of older people who have made their plans on the basis of existing programs.

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Bring Back The WPA

Reagan wasn't wrong in saying that a strong economy is the best way to help the poor. What was hard to take was the hypocrisy. Poor people were admonished to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, while people making more than $200,000 a year got $17,403 in tax cuts for exerting no extra effort at all.

One way to truly help those able to work—and to help the country as well—is to bring back the WPA. (See Timothy Noah, "Bring Back The WPA," September 1982). Remember the nation's one-trillion-dollars'-worth of sagging "infrastructure"? You haven't read about it lately, but it's still there, a time bomb under the national economy. Repairing the federal highway system will require 250,000 people a year for the next decade. The nation's largest cities will have over a hundred billion dollars of water works repair over the next 20 years.

What better way to employ the 8 percent of the work force (16 percent among blacks) that is out of work?

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Reform American Capitalism

Reagan thinks he can solve our economic problems with tax cuts and less regulation, but these don't begin to reach the underlying problems of American capitalism. Those problems can be summarized as The Sucker Factor.

Too often our free enterprise system says to the good guy, "You're a sucker." If you are a worker, you're a sucker to take a wage cut, however essential it may be, if it produces greater returns for the managers and owners. If you are a manager, you're a sucker to think of the long-range interests of your company when promotions and bonuses—as well as the regard of Wall Street and your shareholders—are based on your company's short-term profits. And if you are an owner, you're a sucker to make health and safety improvements that could drive your costs above those of your competitors.

The sucker factor can be eliminated. Here's how. Health and safety regulations must be evenly and fairly applied so that all the companies in an industry are burdened equally. Family and worker ownership should be encouraged so companies are free to do what is best for themselves and their communities in the long run. Workers who own stock will accept short term wage cuts because they know they will share in the resulting profits. National economic policies should specifically encourage long-term investment in new plant and equipment. We once developed a policy for long-range investment in private home construction that was revolutionary. We can do the same for industry.

Reagan has done none of these things.

STRIKE OUT ☑ BASE HIT ☐ HOME RUN ☐

Little in the preceding would dispute the widespread belief that Ronald Reagan is the president of the wealthy. But what about the country? We would hope that even the wealthy would think of that.

Reagan has made some worthy attempts to reform the civil service and get a few interest groups off the dole. But what he's cut in subsidies to the well-off he's given back in tax cuts many times over. Whatever waste he's eliminated in social programs he's multiplied in defense. He has pandered to selfishness and self-pity. His administration has the soul of an accountant, which is not adequate to the challenges ahead.

The likely alternatives leave something to be desired. But another four years of Reagan would leave even more. ■

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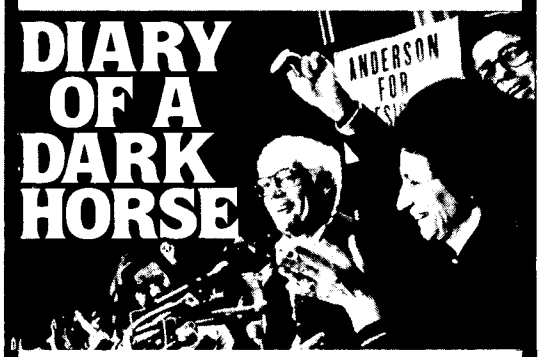

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MEMO OF THE MONTH

ACTION *Memorandum*

REGION V
10 West Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Date: March 19, 1984

To: Files/Units/States, Region V, ACTION

From: Thomas E. Wiora

Subject: Absence of Acting Regional Director

This is to confirm that although appointed Acting Regional Director for March 16, 1984, due to my absence, because of illness, Mr. James E. Braxton acted as such on that date.

ACTION *Memorandum*

REGION V
10 West Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Date: March 19, 1984

To: Files/Units/States, Region V, ACTION

From: James E. Braxton

Subject: Designation of Acting Regional Director -- Period March 12 through March 15, 1984

Please disregard my memorandum indicating that Thomas E. Wiora would be acting as Regional Director during the above period.

Mr. Wiora was already designated by Mr. Drazek in his memorandum of February 21, 1984. In reality, Mr. Wiora acted as Regional Director March 12 through March 15, 1984, and although designated by Mr. Drazek to act on March 16, 1984, also, because of absence, I acted as Regional Director on that date.

FOSTER GRANDPARENT PROGRAM • RETIRED SENIOR VOLUNTEER PROGRAM
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BY TIMOTHY NOAH

The Key to Campaig

Don't Fol

When you look at the miserable record of campaign reform over the past ten years, the levels of spending that inspired the 1974 Federal Election Campaign Act seem quaint. The watershed year for outrage over the money that poured into the electoral process (and the growing potential for influence-buying) was 1972. Howard Hughes contributed $100,000 to Richard Nixon's reelection campaign, Robert Vesco gave $200,000, and the dairy industry and W. Clement Stone each kicked in $2 million. Taken alone, these are impressive figures. But let's look at their combined effect. Between 1968 and 1972, the amount spent on general elections rose from $300 million to $425 million. Adjusted for inflation, this was a real increase of 18 percent. Then came Watergate and the 1974 reforms—the introduction of public financing, contribution limits, and spending ceilings aimed at keeping campaign costs under control. The result: between 1976 and 1980, the price rose from $540 million to $1.2 billion—a real increase of *54 percent*. As for influence-buying, it merely shifted from individuals and corporations to political action committees, which increased their level of spending nearly tenfold between 1974 and 1982.

The inability of the election law to keep costs down and access to the electoral process open to the impoverished and idealistic has caused the idea of campaign reform to fall into some disrepute. To be sure, PACs are routinely denounced, along with the length, expense, and inanity of many political campaigns. But when it comes to the question of actually doing something, many thoughtful people shrug their shoulders. Writing in *The New Republic*, Robert Samuelson rejected the idea "that there are possible reforms that would represent substantial improvements without aggravating current deficiencies or creating new ones." Herbert Alexander, a University of Southern California professor who for several years has been the leading authority on the subject, goes further: "I think the high cost of politics is a phony issue in most respects."

This is too cynical. Money *is* an issue; if we keep spending at this rate, every politician will have to be either a millionaire or a full-time fundraiser. Objections to the role money plays in the political process are worth trying to translate into reforms that will work. The trick is to avoid past pitfalls. One likely reason the post-Watergate reforms foundered is that they took their cue from Deep Throat's famous advice to Bob Woodward: "Follow the money." Rather than wrestle with how to control the flow of cash into campaign coffers through public financing and apparently unenforceable spending ceilings, why not address the problem of why politicians need so much money in the first place? Three fairly simple changes could make a difference.

Bovine Broadcasts

One of the largest contributors to the high cost of political campaigns is TV commercials. A 30-second prime-time network spot costs $87,000; by comparison, a full-page ad in the daily *New York Times* costs $27,000. TV advertising can account for up to half the total cost of running for office.

TV ads tend to be superficial at best and foolish at worst. One particularly egregious example, from the 1982 campaign of Robin Beard, Republican challenger to Tennessee Senator James Sasser, featured an announcement that Sasser had voted for foreign aid to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, and Cuba and followed it with a close-up of a Fidel Castro look-alike, saying, "Muchissimas gracias, Senor Sasser." Another ad from the same year showed several cows discussing NCPAC's attack on Senator John Melcher of Montana. Robert Goodman, a political adman who once put Malcolm Wallop on a horse while a jingle played in the background ("Come join the Wallop Senate Drive/ The Wallop Senate Drive!/ It's alert and it's alive/ And it's Wyoming to the spurs. . . ."), explains the rationale behind such ads quite straightforwardly in *The Spot*, a new book by Edwin Diamond and Stephen Bates: "I try to capture the sense of the state, the sense of the candidacy, and interpret that musically. . . . Alaska! My God! When I got there, I could feel the music!"

Clearly, any effort to reform television com-

Timothy Noah is an editor of The Washington Monthly.

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Reform:

ow the Money

mercials could work up a good motivational head of steam if it focused simply on putting the Robert Goodmans out of business. One such proposal is being forwarded in the Senate by Warren Rudman and Daniel Inouye. The bill would prohibit "any visual or auditory material" other than the candidate himself (or an "alternative speaker") speaking directly to the camera. No cows. No violins. No "Muchissimas gracias, Senor Sasser."

With the "talking heads" commercials we would see the unvarnished candidate, the person he really is—and if he really was determined to try to mislead us, he would have to do so on his own, without special effects.

Head-shot commercials would help reduce the cost of political advertising. The most direct effect would be the elimination of elaborate production expenses, which currently account for 20 to 25 percent of the cost of a political ad. And as Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate and the author of the talking heads proposal, told a Senate hearing, it also "would reduce costs by reducing the use of television commercials as a whole, since talking head commercials are likely to be seen as less useful than the present more demagogic variety of commercials." This is a polite way of saying that the average politician would end up putting viewers to sleep, and his advisors would soon be telling him that the money spent on TV was not merely wasted, but downright counterproductive.

Even if it's not in the candidate's interest to expose his unvarnished self on television, however, it remains in the public interest. This brings us to the second reform we should institute: the FCC should direct broadcasters to give a reasonable amount of free time to appearances by political candidates. According to current law, broadcasters are required only to charge candidates the "lowest unit charge" during the 45 days before a primary or 60 days before an election. The rest of the time the FCC requires even less: what

Counting Dollars

The Federal Election Campaign Act sought to control the cost of elections through public financing, contribution limits, and spending ceilings—in other words, by controlling the flow of money. How it came to fail is a useful lesson in how not to reform the electoral process.

The theory was that public financing would provide access to public office, while spending ceilings, and contribution limits of $1,000 for individuals and $5,000 for PACs in primaries and general elections, would keep costs within reason. All three elements—public financing, spending ceilings, and contribution limits—were applied to presidential elections. For campaigns for the Senate or the House, only the latter two became law, though contributors were eligible for a 50 percent tax credit of up to $50 for an individual and $100 on a joint return.

The idea of a spending "ceiling" was immediately challenged on First Amendment grounds, and in 1976 the Supreme Court ruled in *Buckley* v. *Vallejo* that ceilings could be enforceable only if candidates had chosen to accept "floors"—that is, public financing. This freed congressional candidates from having to observe spending limits (since there was no public financing for congressional elections).

Even if *Buckley* v. *Vallejo* were reversed, the law would have to contend with independent committees, local parties funneling "soft money" into national campaigns, and services like the free phone banks that Walter Mondale got from union supporters this past primary season. These would be difficult if not impossible to regulate, and in the case of legitimately independent efforts, where citizens are seeking to get across their own message about what they regard as a candidate's strengths (rather than being in cahoots with a campaign), we wouldn't want to restrict them.

—*T.N.*

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they're charging "comparable users."

We shouldn't let the broadcasters off so easily. The public grants them licenses that virtually guarantee to make them rich through monopoly ownership and then allows them to raise the cost of running for office by charging commercial prices for political advertisements. The broadcasters are playing us—and our electoral system—for suckers. Instead, we should insist that they set some of their monopoly profits aside for political advertising.

Politicize the A&P

Even the worst detractors of the 1974 reforms concede that one component—the disclosure requirement—proved extraordinarily effective. But when I went to visit Philip M. Stern at the headquarters of Citizens Against PACs, an organization that Stern, a Democrat, co-chairs with Whitney North Seymour, Jr., a Republican, he began our conversation by unraveling an eight-foot financial disclosure form filed by Rep. Roy Kogovsik of Colorado. Sure, the information's on file at the FEC; but as Stern points out, "How do you get the facts out to the voter?"

Stern's answer is to place advertisements in hometown newspapers, making full use of the disclosure information. For example, Stern ran an ad in the *Dallas Morning News* that asked, "Why did Rep. Martin Frost help the dairy lobby milk his constituents?" The ad pointed out Frost's support for dairy price supports (despite the fact that there were only three dairy farmers in his Dallas congressional district) and noted that since 1979 Frost has received $27,200 in campaign contributions from the dairy lobby.

Rather than relying on the efforts of groups like Stern's (or of opposing candidates) to get this information into the newspapers, why doesn't the FEC simply take out the ads itself? Granted, a government agency might not be allowed to editorialize as effectively as Stern can, but at least locally published lists of campaign contributors would reach the audience they're intended for. Such information could be embarrassing not only for candidates like Frost but also for givers who are playing both sides of the street or who stay out of the game until after the election (like the National Association of Home Builders, which gave Nevada Senator Chris Hecht $10,000 in February, 1983—the maximum allowed for the primary and general election that Hecht had already won—because "we are sensitive to members with debts to retire"). At the very least, FCC disclosure in local newspapers would provide us with information we need to assess candidates; at most, it would shame candidates and contributors out of soliciting (or contributing) excessively.

If we started feeling really mischievous, we could also require corporations whose PACs have contributed to federal elections to disclose these expenditures on the labels of their products. Here, of course, the object would be to keep corporations rather than candidates honest. PAC contributions, after all, don't come out of thin air; the employees who contribute earn their salaries through the sale of certain products or services. Customers might come to acquire some say in how that money is ultimately spent by organizing. Supermarkets could become little laboratories of democracy (or guerrilla theater) where competitive boycotts raged between conservatives and liberals. This might cause the A&P some anxiety, but for the rest of us it could be great fun, and it might eventually cut down on PAC contributions.

A final frontier for disclosure lies in the political ads of the candidates themselves. Perhaps the names of the top contributors to a campaign should be required on every piece of campaign literature, like the surgeon general's warning on a pack of cigarettes ("Warning: These People May Not Like Me for My Stand on SALT.") Another way might be to require at the end of each political TV ad that the names of the top contributors appear along with the name of the owner of the station and the price he's charging for the TV time. The FEC could also require a listing of how many ads have appeared so far, along the lines of McDonalds' "Over 15 Billion Served" signs. The ideas might even be combined, so that candidates would have to show a running tally of how much they've spent on TV advertising so far.

The spirit of these reforms, and others like them that we should be trying to think of, should not be the calm, deliberative spirit that has given us the present system—a rational calculation of the public interest that misses its target by miles. Rather, as Elizabeth Drew writes in *Politics and Money*, we need to put "the same amount of energy and ingenuity into making the law effective that has gone into finding ways around it." To put it a little more crudely, we want to drive the politicians and the big money contributors as crazy as the politicians have driven the Fred Wertheimers (and Elizabeth Drews). We want to make them *suffer*. In the public interest, of course. Given that it is the politicians who will have to provide these reforms, such legislative masochism won't be easy to achieve, but nothing is impossible in a democracy.

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Jonathan Alter
ON POLITICAL BOOKS

What's next for Ed Koch? Cover boy, that's what. The ever-visible Ed has never been more ubiquitous than in the months since publication of his controversial autobiography, Mayor.* *He's hit the top of the nationwide best-sellers list, he's done guest spots on such shows as "Gimme a Break" and "All My Children," he's milked the talk show circuit for all it's worth. And now his mug will plaster the cover of* Gentleman's Quarterly, *the trendy men's fashion magazine. The photo's to be snapped by none other than Richard Avedon.*

—*New York Post,* "Page Six," April 20, 1984

As even his admirers will tell you, Ed Koch has become insufferable. Gracie Mansion dinner parties break up early so that guests can be made to sit and watch movies—of their host. *The New York Times* reports that New York City pays to keep a tape of every film and television appearance the mayor has made.

Koch doesn't seem bothered that the origin of the new adulation has nothing whatsoever to do with his performance in office. Did the woman I met at a Tampa, Florida gift shop (admiring my copy of *Mayor*) buy the book because she was interested in the way he handled the 1981 transit strike? Of course not. She bought it because it was the au courant thing to do; another I-am-hipper-than-you-are item out of New York.

But trendiness, as Koch must know from a lifetime in the city, can be risky, and if a halfway acceptable mayoral candidate comes along next year, the schtick that has made him a popular mayor and author may cost him the job he loves so dearly. Koch's trendiness is based on his principal asset, candor, which his editor, Michael Korda, quickly smelled, packaged, and sold. Candor can cut through the stultifying posturing of conventional politicians, but its charm begins to fade when it reveals unattractive characteristics—say, nasty egomania. People are beginning to realize that the mayor is candid only about the *other* guy's faults. In combination with the challenge from New York's blacks, who almost uniformly detest Koch (and who showed their clout by delivering 25 percent of the statewide Democratic presidential primary vote to Jesse Jackson), this awareness could do him in.

The egomania alone is not a problem—it's a part of his act, like Henry Kissinger's. The meanness, however, is. It is becoming clear that Koch isn't just trying to be Don Rickles. The strongest message coming through in the book and in its publicity is that Koch really is a nasty guy—nasty to his friends as well as his enemies. He devotes the better parts of two chapters to describing how he humiliated faithful aides. Firing can be a good thing, and the civil service rules make it harder to do than it should be. Yet it is unseemly how Koch relishes it. He recounts several occasions where aides—whom he cites by name—weep on hearing the news. After excerpts of the book were printed, he added small-type footnotes that say nice things about the victims: by the time the book was published aides excoriated in the text became in the footnotes "exceptionally able administrators" or "still good friends." It doesn't help. His gratuitousness is irredeemable:

"On September 8: [Axel Schupf] asked for an appointment. . . . He then reaches into his pocket, as I had hoped he would, and takes out an envelope, as I had hoped he would, and he hands me a letter. The letter is very brief. It says, 'I resign as Health Services Administrator August 8.' I said, 'You mean *September* 8, don't you?' He was flustered and said he would take it back and redo it."

What's unfortunate about these petty remarks is that they obscure deeper messages that, unlike the bitchy jibes, really have some value. The *Village Voice*, which in the 1960s was Koch's biggest backer and has since become his most unrelenting critic, has argued that the book provides no insights into the way city government works. That's wrong. There are many such insights, and they make the book worth reading despite its nastiness.

Here are a couple of Koch stories that you haven't seen in the hundreds of reviews of the book. They aren't as politically significant as Koch's catty remarks about Mario Cuomo, Carol Bellamy, or Herman Badillo, and they aren't as memorable as Koch's observations about Evangeline Carey—"Every time she sees me she has this button in her brain that goes off and she spews out what she thinks a Jew would want to hear"—but they say a lot more about how a city works.

Early in Koch's first term, a concessionaire stood up at a town meeting and confessed that because the city was so slow in paying its bills the concessionaires were in the habit of building additional charges into their bills. Koch asked for a study and found that more than 50 percent of the city's bills were not being paid for 30 days, which made most suppliers refuse to do business with the city. After several do-nothing proposals by city bureaucrats, Koch decided on an unusual remedy:

"I said, 'I'm giving the city agencies 60 days to get their shops in order. Then at the end of the third month, I'm going to publish a list of their names in rank order, one through ten, with ten being the worst—the slowest. And I'll do that every month.' The commissioners said, 'No, no, no. You can't do that.

Jonathan Alter is an associate editor of Newsweek *and a contributing editor of* The Washington Monthly.

*Simon & Schuster, $17.95.

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It will embarrass us.' 'Watch me,' I said. [Later] the Parks Commissioner comes into my office and he is in great distress and his name is at the bottom of the list as the worst. He says, 'Mr. Mayor, I am beside myself. I have called in my comptroller and I have said to him, if my name is at the bottom of the list next month, it's your ass.' "

In many ways that is Ed Koch at his arrogant worst, setting the scene for yet more testimony to his greatness. But the truth is that the competition worked and soon the city was paying 95 percent of its bills on time, saving millions. Koch simply introduced a little accountability into the system, and as bad as the city bureaucracy had become—as corroded with time-serving employees lacking any incentive—the system responded almost immediately to the cleverly arranged public pressure.

Koch's recounting of confidential conversations is the feature of the book that makes other politicians the angriest, unless, of course, they are not mentioned at all. But for the rest of us, the conversations—as long as they don't humiliate the subjects—provide some particularly good examples of the difference between what officeholders say in private and in public. (In most political memoirs, even those written long after retirement, private conversations sounds like dialogues out of the *Congressional Record*. Lyndon Johnson managed to write a whole memoir, *The Vantage Point*, in which he didn't utter one sharp word over the telephone.)

Among the most revealing inside conversations in *Mayor* are those that take place during the transit strike, where we learn that the politicians representing the government side—in this case, Koch, Governor Carey, and Transit Chief Richard Ravitch—fight each other almost as hard as they fight the union. Koch's most bitter dispute is not with Carey himself, but with the governor's top aide—a good illustration of how critical that staff position has become in state government.

When it comes to reporting confidential conversations, Koch doesn't discriminate. He lectures Jimmy Carter about Jews and Israel as if Carter were a schoolboy; applies a single-issue litmus test that the president must pass in order to win Koch's tepid support; demeans Carter repeatedly behind his back; and then has the nerve to call him mean.

Occasionally, though, there is a method to Koch's meanness. When the city personnel director calls early in his term to tell him that it's snowing ("What a novel way to bring the news," Koch says smugly to himself), the new mayor learns that the City of New York allows "snow days, " when people who don't come to work get paid and those who do receive time-and-a-half. He ends "snow days."

In this last vignette lies the paradox of Ed Koch. One part of him knows where the Democratic party has gone wrong in its approach to running city government. As he wrote in 1981 and reprints in the book, "What happened over the last decade is that we became the party of the status quo, the party of government for government's sake, the party of abstraction. . .we consistently sided with the need to protect the civil liberties of the criminal not the victim. . .we conferred on special interests—particularly friendly special interests like labor, environmental groups, organizations for the handicapped—the right to set our legislative agenda. . . ." Unlike his predecessors, Koch could identify the "snow day" scam and he had the guts to get rid of it.

But at the same time he just couldn't resist letting a little of the other Koch show through—the side that will take an innocuous comment someone makes about the weather and use it to turn that person into a fool. It's hard to know where that trait came from. It may be a vestige of the old Greenwich Village Ed Koch, before he discovered Queens and his white working-class constituency. That Ed Koch may have aspired to be one of the "liberal elitists" he now quite rightly scorns. These reformers spent a lot of time trying to make Carmen DeSapio and his ilk look not just corrupt but dumb as well. Koch may have lost his class bias somewhere along the line, but the caustic weapons his neighbors used against the police somehow remained. Now it's blacks and Hispanics who more often get it in the face. Instead of simply challenging minorities when they are wrong—as he quite rightly did on corruption in the poverty programs—the mayor insists on rubbing it in. The only time he really tries to bring them into his tent is when an election nears. Meanwhile, their adversaries among the big downtown real estate interests—is this simply the old Greenwich Village crowd made good?—continue to win tax abatements with Koch's help.

The real problem with Koch, then, is less policy than tone. His deportment is no small matter, because it threatens the rethinking of Democratic positions of which he is part. Democrats who have reformulated some of the old ideas of their party are particularly open to the charge of heartlessness. The only way to make those changes work without looking like a Reaganite is to do so in the spirit of humane pragmatism that is the real hallmark of the Democratic tradition. That doesn't mean sugar-coating conservatism—these reforms are *not* Reaganistic. But convincing liberals of that point requires a sensitivity that the Ed Koch's of the world will never possess. ■

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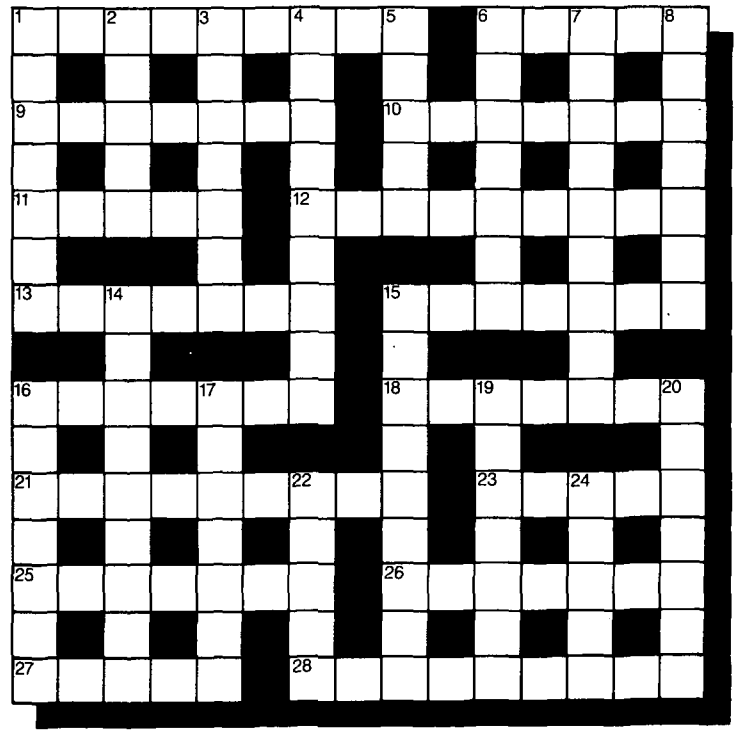
POLITICAL PUZZLE

by John Barclay



The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2, 3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word.

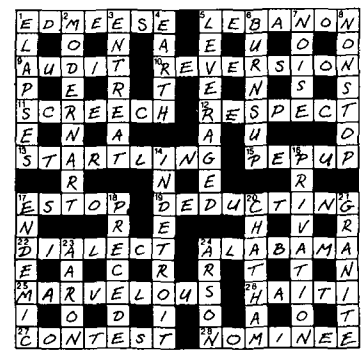
ACROSS

1. A goner ran shakily in 1980 election. (3, 6)
6. Put very softly in bar fare for Jonathan. (5)
9. Strain handled carefully in notes. (7)
10. Covering intercourse about tea. (7)
11. Lost a seat in an odd way. (2, 3)
12. Angry conformist in Moscow? (3, 6)
13. Missile upset diner between teas. (7)
15. Professional golfer in overt exhibition. (7)
16. Crustacean making speed back in Pentagon briefly. (7)
18. Fights off angry sisters. (7)
21. Takes in a hundred broken promises. (9)
23. Stocking material in a N.Y.-London expedition. (5)
25. Endless greeting arranged for a number. (7)
26. Rambling oration in Canada. (7)
27. Follows Richard in Phoenix onslaught... (5)
28. ...and wherever he goes. (9)

DOWN

1. Pull back about piece of land? (7)
2. Mariners or rangers, for example. (5)
3. Time era made right for Eastern states. (7)
4. Gave rise to misplaced tee danger. (9)
5. Cited endless demands coming up. (5)
6. Composed quite an historic article. (7)
7. Initial rounds developed riper aims. (9)
8. He painted surrealistic leg core. (2, 5)
14. Fiscal burden is unwieldy to Mexican. (6, 3)
15. Hart managed to cry and sort issues. (6, 3)
16. Speaking clearly, tonic mixer follows 501. (7)
17. For a change, GOP ran a really good candidate. (7)
19. Treason upset McCarthy, for example. (7)
20. Faint crafted poesy about North Carolina. (7)
22. Test vote shows blemishes coming up. (5)
24. Carol presented as Spanish poet and dramatist. (5)

Answers to last month's puzzle:



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POLITICAL BOOKNOTES

Powerplay: What Really Happened at Bendix. Mary Cunningham with Fran Schumer. *Linden Press, $15.95.* "Which of the saints, I wondered, had ever lived through a mass-media event? Which of the saints had ever been the victim of a corporate power play?" And after reading Mary Cunningham's account of her life at Bendix, which of the saints, I wondered, had turned to Gail Sheehy for confession and absolution? Which of the saints ever had gone to La Costa to recover from her martyrdom? Early in this act of self-hagiography Cunningham reveals that whenever she's uncomfortable her neck gets red and blotchy. For 286 pages, Cunningham, neck aflame, attempts to even the score with the members of the business world and the media, who she feels destroyed her and William Agee's chances to build a great moral corporation.

The idea of a moral corporation is an intriguing one. But Cunningham is not equipped to reveal any more about what that means except to say, "I'm not sure even the Blessed Mother would have gotten very far at Bendix."

She does have a point when she expresses astonishment at the national obsession that erupted around whether she was having an affair with Agee, her one-time "mentor" and former Bendix chairman (and current husband and business partner). What is unfortunate is that the sticky issue of how men and women sort out their professional and personal relationships when women move beyond support staff in the corporate hierarchy found its objective correlative in Cunningham and Agee—two of the most self-righteous and oblivious individuals ever to agree to be profiled in *People* magazine.

Cunningham also wants to play both sides of the feminist fence. In most of her account she expresses the belief that there should be no difference in the treatment or behavior of women in the corporate world. She quite blithely says she had no qualms about dismissing the only woman and the only black in her department when staff was being reduced: "It was ironic, but I felt less defensive about this than a man might have because these were truly the people who were least essential." But when she was forced to resign because speculation about her sex life (or lack of it, as she maintains) had become a full-time occupation at Bendix, she expresses surprise at her lack of female friends. "I assumed other women executives would automatically support each other," she writes.

When she's not comparing herself to Joan of Arc or Mother Teresa, Cunningham manages to drop a few brief insights into big business. One is how she and her staff reorganized a department at Bendix in a few days based on a one-page memo. "It was the sort of thing an outside consultant would charge $50,000 to do, take six months to complete, and convey his recommendations in a six-volume report." Another is that the business of Bendix's Washington office, at least when run by the Reagans' friend Nancy Reynolds, was feeding members of Congress.

Cunningham is perplexed at how two years of neck rashes fit into God's plan for her. But perhaps she unwittingly reveals the answer in her own book. At one time Agee was considering an administration post because, his wife writes, he "had hopes of some day implementing his economic theories on a wider scale." But considering his disastrous attempt to take over Martin Marietta, which ended up with Bendix ceasing to exist as a separate corporate entity, God clearly intended to spare us that fate.

—*Emily Yoffe*

First Lady from Plains. Rosalynn Carter. *Houghton Mifflin, $17.95.* The material about Mrs. Carter's White House years is wooden and boring, but the story of her early life is told with candor and humanity and is absolutely fascinating. She

"A revolutionary reappraisal of the American role in the world, of U.S. obligations to allies, of the very definition of what is required for our security."

—**Philip Geyelin**, *The Washington Post*

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Defining Defense: The 1985 Military Budget

Earl C. Ravenal

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makes real the hopes and fears of her growing up years and of the life she shared with Jimmy in the Navy and in Plains. Her courage in supporting his struggle against the crooked politics and racial hatred of rural Georgia is especially touching because it is clear how afraid she was of the consequences and how hard she had to fight to overcome those fears.

—*Charles Peters*

Torture in the Eighties: An Amnesty International Report. *Amnesty International Publications, $5.95.* Using information from prisoners and local antitorture groups, medical evidence and official government statements, Amnesty International describes in horrifying detail the use of torture by governments from 1980 to 1983. Among them are the Soviet Union, Mexico, the Philippines, South Africa, Italy, El Salvador, Libya, and Israel.

Because AI tries to be nonpolitical, it does not advocate any effective means to bring about a stop to the practice. But it is clear that Jimmy Carter was right in at least withholding military and economic aid from such countries. And that Ronald Reagan is terribly wrong in tolerating everything done in the name of anticommunism.

—*Tina Rosenberg*

Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days that Changed the Middle East. Donald Neff. *Linden Press, $17.95.* The 1967 Arab-Israeli war was the decisive event in the modern history of the Middle East. It established facts that have defined the region's conflicts ever since: the military prowess of the Israelis; the humiliation of the Arabs; the rise of the Palestine Liberation Organization as an independent force; the open alliance of the U.S. and Israel; and, not least, the absorption of the West Bank and Gaza into the Land of Israel.

Donald Neff, a former *Time* correspondent, has written a skillful history of the events surrounding the 1967 war. His book has what so many other accounts of recent Mideast history lack: a feel for the texture of events and the personalities that shaped them. The book conveys the tension of Israeli cabinet meetings, the exultation of American supporters of Israel in the triumphs of the Jewish state, the muddle of State Department Mideast policy, and the sad self-delusion of the Arabs in a way that few published accounts of the 1967 war and its aftermath have done.

Neff's book succeeds because it is, above all, a compilation of careful reporting. By studying documents and interviewing participants, he presents hour-by-hour reconstructions of some of the key events leading up to the war. One example is the visit by Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban to Washington in May 1967, which coincided with an Israeli effort to force American support through what Neff suggests were fabricated Israeli intelligence reports warning of an imminent Egyptian attack. Another is his summary of visits by the Soviet ambassadors in Cairo and Tel Aviv to President Nasser and Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, in which the Russians fed each side sharply conflicting intelligence reports.

The book offers a surprising picture of the chaos of the Israeli government on the eve of the war. The weak prime minister, Eshkol, was attacked by nearly everyone in Israeli politics, from Moshe Dayan to Menachem Begin, for his reluctance to attack the Eqyptians. The hawkish air force general, Ezer Weizman, tore his general's insignia from his shoulder in his rage at Eshkol's indecision.

The author also provides a fascinating portrait of President Lyndon Johnson, harassed and isolated by the Vietnam war, making the fateful decision to embrace Israel and end the relatively even-handed Mideast policy of previous American administrations. Neff argues that Johnson's decision was

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influenced largely by American politics and his desire to increase Jewish support for his embattled presidency.

One of the strengths of Neff's narrative is that in most of the book he doesn't display gross bias toward either Israel or the Arabs. His account of the triumphant Israeli capture of the Old City of Jerusalem is subtle and moving, giving the reader a sense of the emotional importance for Israelis and Jews everywhere of the recovery of their ancient capital; yet Neff is no less moving in describing the trauma of Palestinian refugees displaced by the war.

Neff undercuts the balanced tone of much of the book, however, with a preachy prologue and an epilogue that summarize what he sees as the political lessons of the 1967 war. He argues that America's "blind support" of Israel, beginning in 1967, "encouraged the most recalcitrant and militant elements of the Jewish nation"—Begin and his successor, Yitzhak Shamir—and transformed Israel into a "dark vision" of its former self.

Neff understates the tragedy of the Middle East by blaming one side for the torments of the past 17 years. There is enough folly, and blame, to go around.

—David Ignatius

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Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel. Stephen Green. *William Morrow, $14.95.* Green argues the same polemical thesis as Neff: America's overindulgent support for Israel created a monster, in the form of the Begin government.

But *Taking Sides* fails in precisely the dimension where *Warriors for Jerusalem* succeeds: in its narrative of the details and texture of events in Jerusalem and Washington. Green describes U.S.-Israel relations with no apparent sense of what motivates either side, and he writes badly—so abominably in places that the declassified government cables he quotes are more readable than his prose. Both books may suffer from having been written in the wake of the 1982 Lebanon war, when it seemed to many Americans that Israel had indeed become a kind of monster, or at least the rival of its Arab neighbors in belligerence and cruelty. In that climate, writers such as Neff and Green wanted to explain to readers how this unruly Israel came to be.

My own impression, after three years of covering the Middle East, is that the 1982 picture of Israel as a reckless Sparta will prove transitory. Israel today is a shaken nation, badly traumatized by the war in Lebanon and its own internal problems. Israeli analysts on the right and left agree that it will be a decade, perhaps a generation, before Israelis are again willing to fight what they call a "war of choice." For the foreseeable future, they probably will fight only "wars of no choice," imposed by their neighbors.

—D.I.

All Stalin's Men. Roy Medvedev; Harold Shukman, trans. *Anchor Press, $14.95.* The Marxist dissident historian hands down another indictment of the Stalinist era in biographies of the men the book's jacket condemns as "six who carried out the bloody policies": Voroshilov, Mikoyan, Suslov, Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov. Under Stalin's special process of selection, anyone who was unable to commit a criminal act was not merely removed from power but physically eliminated. As Medvedev states, "They all traveled the road along which revolutionary tenacity degenerates into callousness, even sadism, political flexibility into pragmatism, and enthusiasm into demagoguery."

—Mark Laughlin

Wired: the Short Life and Fast Times of John Belushi. Bob Woodward. *Simon & Schuster, $17.95.* This is a miserable match of writer and subject, and as a result Woodward's account of the life and death of John Belushi has to rank as the worst book he's ever done. Woodward has never been exactly a prose stylist, but he's one of the best (and most celebrated) investigators of his time. Though he and Carl Bernstein stumbled after their Watergate triumph with *The Final Days*, Woodward rallied with *The Brethren*, the behind-the-scenes account of life at the Supreme Court that he wrote with Scott Armstrong. *The Brethren* showed that Woodward was ready to move from scandals to more important work—stories about the systemic failures of government. So why is he writing a gossipy book about the pharmacological excesses of a movie star?

Woodward has been quoted as saying he got interested in Belushi partly because they both grew up in Wheaton, Illinois but mostly because they both had to cope with the pressure that comes from the kind of instantaneous fame and fortune America can bestow. As an informing idea for a book, that has some potential, but Woodward doesn't pull it off. What we are left with is a waste of Woodward's talent.

—Joseph Nocera

The Art of Corporate Success: The Story of Schlumberger. Ken Auletta. *Putnam, $15.95.* Out of the unrelenting battering that American business, from microchips to automobiles, has taken in recent years, has emerged the beginning of a fundamental reexamination of the art of managing. I think of Hayes' and Aber-

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nathy's landmark *Harvard Business Review* article, "Managing Our Way to Economic Decline," as the cornerstone of what has become a revolutionary movement in management thinking, the latest contribution to which is Ken Auletta's fine analysis of Jean Ribaud and Schlumberger.

First and foremost, Auletta's book is a good, detailed, well-written commentary on the real world of business organization. Of late, only Tracy Kidder's *Soul of a New Machine* ranks in the same league. Auletta describes the amazing Schlumberger Corporation, a $6 billion, 75,000-person organization that ranks at the very top of the 1,000 biggest corporations in the world. Its principal business is providing geological analyses to oil-well drillers.

Schlumberger believes in technology and invests in it heavily. But in the same breath the company argues that service is where it's really at. Unlike other companies in its field, Schlumberger only rents—does not sell—equipment in its oil-well logging (measuring) business, which accounts for 45 percent of the company's revenues and 70 percent of its profits. It sends out crews of exceptionally well-trained, young, aggressive field engineers to sell the complete service and is the only company in the industry that insists upon this complete-package approach.

The organization is lean and mean. Auletta observes that it has not followed the fads of MBA technique and lawyer-infested staffs. A corporate staff of just 197 runs a 75,000-person business. Moreover, Ribaud and Schlumberger stick to the things they understand. Although there have been several acquisitions, the technological logic and coherence of the acquisitions are straightforward. The company has not strayed far afield in even minor senses: eschewing more conventional wisdom, the highly sought-after Ribaud refuses to sit on anyone else's board of directors.

Perhaps the most critical element is radical decentralization. Marcel Schlumberger's most significant concern, as he debated to whom to turn the company over, was that it would "lose its sense of intimacy." Members of the Schlumberger family suggest today that Ribaud's number one contribution has in fact been to fend off the encroachment of almost inevitable bureaucracy. Radical decentralization and a penchant for shifting people in unexpected fashions (Ribaud calls himself a "seeker of change") are a large part of it. The elitist corps of field engineers (and Schlumberger unflinchingly encourages the feeling of elitism) feels total responsibility for what they do, as interviews repeatedly indicate. They, too, reflect the paradox: "They talk in the same breath of incredibly hard work and fun. They, for a substantial salary, put up with exceptional rigors and yet find the rigors offset by the opportunity to almost immediately 'do anything you want' and the knowledge that merit alone will move one ahead. With a small staff and Ribaud's obsessive attention to personnel issues, corporate politics play a remarkably small role in the scheme of things."

Certainly the Ribaud story puts to bed the notion of the one-dimensional businessman. Ribaud is a fanatic, a perfectionist, a grudge-holder, a patient attender to personnel issues, a technologist, a consummate manager; he is a socialist, an astonishingly generous supporter of the arts, a frenetic traveler who finds time to take at least two month-long vacations every year. In short, he's a complex man.

My problems with Auletta's book are, I think, minor. I wish Auletta had spent a bit more time with the people way down the line, in the field. My Schlumberger soundings highlight a paradox that Auletta describes, but doesn't bring to life as fully as he might have: the balance between an extraordinarily spirited and decentralized place where you can make your own thing happen, and, at times, a frightening "people eater" side—the pressure to perform is nothing short of brutal—that goes with it. Among my other "favorite excellent companies," IBM and Proctor & Gamble in particular suffer from and benefit from the same paradox.

For me, this and my other caveats are just small nits. Mainly I'm delighted that a writer of Auletta's stature and skill has turned his attention to business. Life in organizations—schools, hospitals, baseball teams, symphonies, oil field service companies, computer makers, and toilet paper vendors—occupies most of us most of the time. And yet the rich texture of that life is almost a nonsubject for literate analysis. (A recent *New York Times Book Review* article pointed out that corporate life is equally ignored by fiction writers.) It's no wonder that our management theories have served us so poorly. In general such theory has been written by academics/

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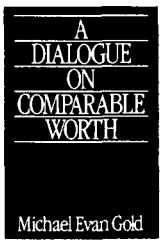

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consultants (myself included) who have neither operating experience nor a superb reporter's eye for human detail. We've suffered in all aspects of our organization life—the execution of foreign policy, social policy, economic policy, corporate stewardship—from theories based on faulty premises about the way large numbers of human beings work, live, sleep, eat, breathe, and behave in organizations. The revolution is on. I hope the talents and skills of more Ken Aulettas will be brought to bear.

—Thomas J. Peters

Brandeis and Frankfurter: A Dual Biography. Leonard Baker. *Harper & Row, $25.* Baker's detailed presentation of the lives and times of these two Supreme Court justices offers a wealth of information not only about the men themselves but also about the conditions that inspired the creation of some of the most controversial institutions of our day—Social Security, the Federal Reserve Board, and government regulation of business in general. Louis Brandeis, an early liberal who sided with the workers against the trusts, banks, and large corporations that dominated American business at the beginning of this century, and his friend and protege, Felix Frankfurter, were involved in most of the major issues of their time, both on and off the Court—the tide of European immigrants, the beginning of the labor movement, Zionism and the birth of Israel, and, later, the civil rights movement. Baker quotes from their letters and other writings to make the book extremely readable, but he is better at dealing with the issues and events than with personalities. The reader closes the book knowing a great deal about what Brandeis and Frankfurter did and little about why they did it.

—Kathy Shwiff

D.V. Diana Vreeland; George Plimpton, Christopher Hemphill, eds. *Knopf, $15.95.* This is a new genre of memoir: a stream of consciousness with no pretense of being anything but a transcription of what went into the tape recorder. The text is full of comments such as, "If I may say so, at least to you, I sometimes think there's something wrong with *white* people," and "You really should be talking to Joseph, my masseur."

This isn't really a memoir of a life, but a series of descriptions of the clothes she wore while meeting famous people. World War II was a personal tragedy for Mrs. Vreeland because she was unable to get a fitting at Chanel's salon in Paris for five years. Of her many dubious anecdotes, such as the time Lindbergh flew over her home on his way across the Atlantic, Mrs. Vreeland gives the game away toward the end of the book: "A lie to get out of something, or take an advantage for oneself, that's one thing; but a lie to make life more interesting—well that's entirely different."

—Emily Yoffe

Sacred Cows at the Public Trough. Denzel and Nancy Ferguson. *Maverick Books, $6.95.* The authors argue that western cattlemen are not the praiseworthy sentinels of individualism and frontier idealism that we have been led to believe. Instead they are responsible for billions of tons of topsoil needlessly lost, millions of fish and waterfowl destroyed through cattle-caused pollution, and a public-financed poisoning of valuable rangeland with herbicides.

—Mark Kirschmier

Weakness and Deceit: U.S. Policy and El Salvador. Raymond Bonner. *Times Books, $16.95.* This account by *The New York Times*'s former Salvador correspondent effectively punctures the unreality that pervades American discussions of El Salvador. For example, the Reagan administration has convinced many members of Congress and the press that the October 1979 coup brought to power a group of centrists who have been embattled by "extremists right and left" ever since. Bonner's detailed reporting demonstrates that whatever its initial intentions, the coup was taken over by right-wing extremists in the military officer corps. He demolishes the notion that the country's notorious death squads operate independently of the armed forces. Quoting classified State Department cables, he shows how U.S. officials have known all along that the Salvadoran military was guilty of perpetrating and covering up what a secret 1983 report called "atrocious crimes."

Bonner is astute enough to recognize that these deceptions (and countless others) are not the fumblings of a panicked administration but the logical result of its open-ended commitment to an unsavory regime. Otherwise, though, he doesn't attempt to play policymaker. He offers few recom-

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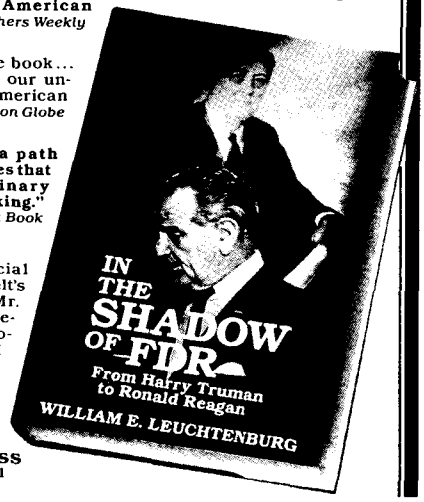

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mendations for how the U.S. might promote a political settlement in which the democratic civilians among the opposition would not be shunted aside by the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas. His reporting does suggest that the U.S. ought to at least explore the opposition's offer of unconditional negotiations. Bonner quotes Ruben Zamora, a widely respected social democrat and leader of the civilian opposition, as saying, "Look, at least give us the opportunity—and the fact is that right now there is no opportunity at all—to try to work out a pluralistic society. There is no opportunity now because the whole thing is being defined in terms of shooting and guns."

—Jefferson Morley

The Nightmare Years. William L. Shirer. *Little Brown, $22.50.* With this autobiographical volume covering the years 1930-40, the author firmly establishes himself as the patron saint of all of us who tend to repeat our anecdotes. The five years he spent in Berlin during the latter half of this period Shirer covered earlier in his *Berlin Diary*, *The Rise and the Fall of the Third Reich*, and *The Rise and Fall of Adolph Hitler*. Yet he tells the story well enough that he gets away with the repetitions. As a bonus, there is absorbing new material on the author's years in France, Spain, India, and Afghanistan.

—Charles Peters

To Make Democracy Safe for America: Patricians and Preparedness in the Progressive Era. Michael Pearlman. *Univ. of Illinois Press, $19.95.* This subtle social history recounts a short-lived effort to institute universal military training in early 20th-century America. Advocates of the proposal—among them New England professors and military officers, as well as both Teddy and Franklin Roosevelt—believed that the egalitarian discipline of boot camp would restore patriotism, community spirit, and other small-town American virtues threatened by corrupt politicians, lax educators, and masses of European immigrants. But the movement fizzled shortly after World War I; veterans hardened by the horror of trench warfare showed no enthusiasm for the notion, nor did workers bred to harsh factory discipline or members of the upper classes caught up in the roaring twenties. The notion was later revived in a small way in FDR's Civilian Conservation Corps and became implemented on a national scale with the coming of World War II. This fascinating history should be read by anyone interested in contemporary calls for the peacetime draft.

—Andrew Moravcsik

Jinnah of Pakistan. Stanley Wolpert. *Oxford Univ. Press, $24.95.* Mohammed Ali Jinnah's belief in cooperation between India's two major religions had him dubbed the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity." But in the end it was Jinnah's passionate devotion to a separate Muslim state that made the partition of the subcontinent inevitable.

Brilliant, urbane, and aloof, Jinnah left the Inns of Court for a career as India's highest-paid barrister. His rapid rise in Indian politics, however, was eclipsed by the ascension of Mahatma Gandhi. Their differences were both personal and political. Jinnah embodied India's westernized elite; Gandhi's roots were sunk into peasant soil. Jinnah's faith was in moderate constitutional reform; Gandhi's was in immoderate civil disobedience. As the Indian Congress fell more heavily under the Mahatma's sway, Jinnah began to share his fellow Muslims' fears about their place in a future united, but Hindu-dominated, India.

Though hardly a religious devotee, Jinnah traded in his western suits for a black Punjabi coat and led India's 90 million Muslims to their new nation, a feat that required tremendous determination and physical courage. Jinnah spent the last years of his life fighting British and Hindu adversaries, would-be assassins, and the cancer that was racing to consume his lungs. Yet what bloody dividends his efforts ultimately paid. Inspired by his vision of a new nation and his glory as its leader, Jinnah failed to anticipate or help avert the savage Hindu-Muslim butchery that stained the freedom celebration.

Jason DeParle

Bread and Circuses: Theories of Mass Culture and Social Decay. Patrick Brantlinger. *Cornell Univ. Press, $16.95.* The most dependable metaphor in small-town stump oratory is that of the once-great Roman Empire. The sad history of decline, from Republic to Empire to ruins, seems so apt an admonition to the young American Republic. It can be used to argue the case against sexual permissiveness, a mercenary army, excessive taxation—and, of course, the popular susceptibility to being placated by bread and circuses.

No one who reads Patrick Brantlinger's book can ever again listen to such a speech without a blush, for his main purpose is to show how enduringly adaptable and inappropriate such "negative classicism" has been. Even before the history of Rome was available as an object lesson, the Greeks and

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Romans themselves concocted imagery of ancient decadence. Edmund Gibbon did not intend his *Decline and Fall* to be a disguised sermon about 18th-century Britain; but since then, Brantlinger says, almost everyone else who has talked about Nero or the gladiators has been trying to make a point about his own contemporary society.

The specific indictments have ranged from the narcotic effects of religion to the potential for mass hysteria. But the central theme through the years has been that the vulgar culture of the masses can undo the foundations of a vigorous society.

The current version of this warning, Brantlinger says, concerns television in particular and the mass media in general. He quotes the critic, Raymond Williams: "The overwhelming absorption of tens of millions of mid-20th-century Americans in football games and struggles against cattle rustlers was a political achievement—along with welfare legislation, it seemed the American equivalent of the 'Roman Bread and Circuses.'" Brantlinger, himself a critic, is more interested in ideas *about* mass culture and declining civilizations than he is in those topics themselves, so he does not offer his assessment of the current state of cultural, political, and fiscal decadence. (He also indulges in many professor-of-English sentences that make the book tough going: "How far short television now falls of its potential for enlightenment can be seen in the large number of pessimistic, deterministic theories spawned, or in other words in its present obvious affinity for negative classicism.") But he does argue usefully and persuasively that studying Rome will teach us about Rome, not necessarily about the modern United States.

The rise of television, for example, may be one important feature of post-war America, but so is the dramatic expansion of opportunities for non-aristocrats to attend college. Modern schools need to pay more attention to teaching students to read and write; but 150 years ago, no one expected that most Americans (let alone most blacks) would be literate, or would even have attended school. The right reason to be concerned about television is that it grows more stupid even as upscale magazines enjoy larger circulation than ever before. Similarly, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* are thriving with intelligent national editions, even as many local papers are diving into the gutter. These may be signs of a population that is dividing itself into reading and non-reading blocs, which is different from the 18th-century pattern of a thin educated layer atop the unlettered mob. It is also distinctly different from the social and political conditions of the Roman Empire, which is why reflexive talk about "Bread and Circuses" misdates the problems we have.

—*James Fallows*

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Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation. Ronald Reagan. *Thomas Nelson, $7.95.* One thing about this collection of three essays is certain: right-to-lifers will read it and praise it; most everyone else won't read it and will condemn it. The reaction will be deserved in the case of the essays by C. Everett Koop, the surgeon general, and Malcolm Muggeridge, the British journalist. Koop and Muggeridge are combative, with fast and loose references to Auschwitz and Nazi Germany. They are not writing to persuade—they are writing for the believers. But, surprisingly, Reagan presents a clear and thought-provoking position without stooping to demagoguery.

—*Kurt Eichenwald*

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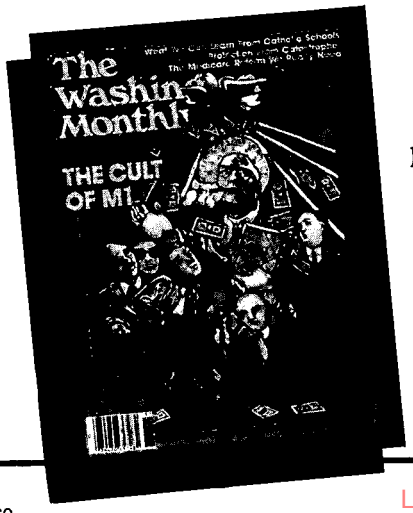

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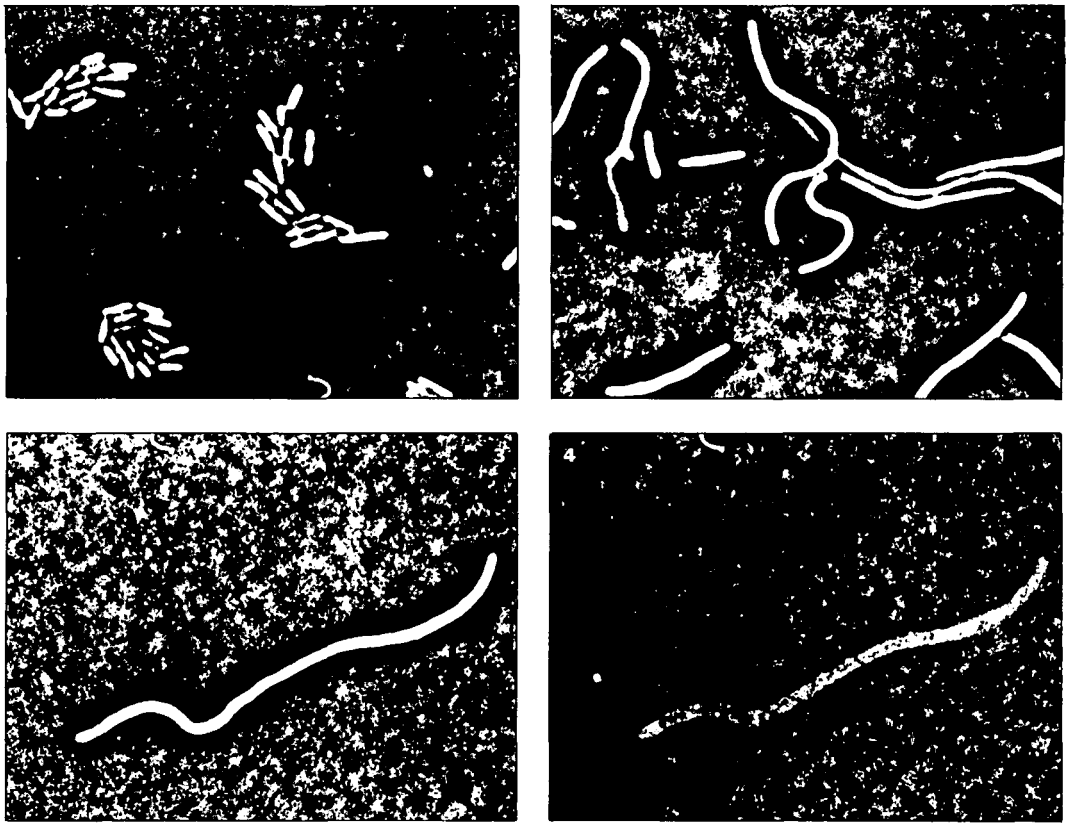

Bacteria in lab dish (1) elongate after addition of piperacillin, a new antibiotic (2); the cell wall of the microorganism weakens (3), then ruptures and dies (4).

...on infectious diseases.

Infectious diseases are the enemy—ranking fifth among the leading causes of death in the United States. More than two million people require hospital treatment each year for a wide variety of infections, adding an extra $1.5 billion in hospitalization costs alone to our country's already staggering health-care bill.

Not only do these disease-causing invaders strike swiftly and severely when the body's defenses are weak, but over the years new strains of many bacteria have appeared—strains that are resistant to many existing medications.

Fortunately, research scientists have developed a new generation of antibiotics, including a semi-synthetic penicillin (whose bacterial action is pictured above), to battle against a broad spectrum of life-threatening microorganisms. These rapid-acting antibiotics provide physicians with powerful new weapons for their medical arsenals.

But the war against infectious diseases continues and our search for even newer, more effective medications goes on.

Lederle

For more information about Lederle's antibiotics research and general background material, call or write:
Public Affairs Department, Lederle Laboratories,
Wayne New Jersey 07470, 201/831-4684.

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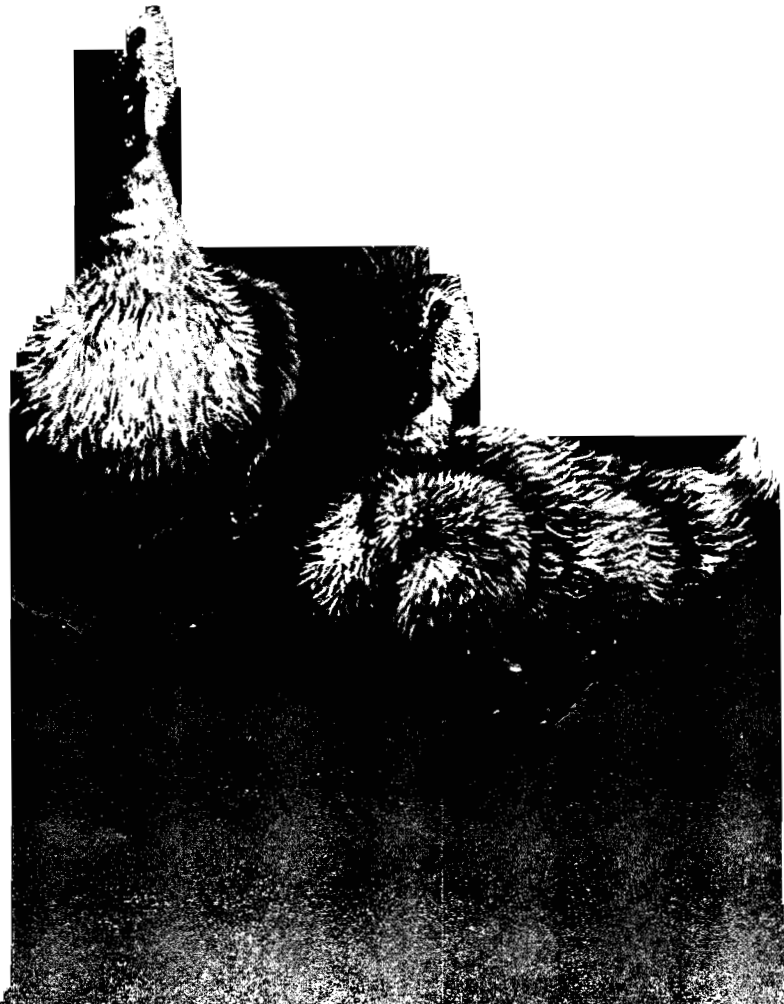

"We're turning ugly duckling crude oil into high-quality gasoline."

"You might say there are two ugly ducklings in the petroleum world," says John Paraskos, who is the Program Manager for Refining Process Research and Development at Gulf.

"One of them is the thick, tarry stuff left over after you refine gasoline and diesel fuel out of crude oil. These leftovers are called residual bottoms, and until recently they weren't good for much except making asphalt pavement.

"The other type is oil that comes out of the ground so thick and laden with impurities that it's virtually unrefinable. It's called heavy sour crude, and there's a lot of it in America.

"Fortunately, at Gulf we have found ways to make better use of heavy sour crude and residual bottoms in our refineries.

"Modifications to our fluid catalytic cracking units, and new catalyst developments, have allowed us to transform increasing amounts of these tarry residual materials into high-quality gasoline and diesel fuel.

"In addition, Gulf has developed a special process, hydrodesulfurization, to clean up dirty sour crude oils, and Gulf provides licenses to other refiners who want to use the process.

"These are two good, practical ways of getting valuable fuels from sources we were never able to use before."

Gulf

Gulf people: energy for tomorrow.

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